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*The heaviest guns in the defense of Yudam-ni were the 155mm howitzers of the 4th Battalion, 11th Marines, commanded by Maj William McReynolds. Shown here, the big guns are preparing to leave the perimeter, towed by their tractor prime movers. Excess gunners were reorganized into provisional rifle units.*

Meanwhile, Lieutenant Harris had been wounded and Second Lieutenant Minard P. Newton, Jr., had taken over the company. Able Company, under Captain David W. Banks, passed through How Company and took the hill at about 1930.

Davis now stripped his battalion down for its cross-country trek. Everything needed for the march would have to be hand carried. He decided to go very light, taking only two 81mm mortars and six heavy machine guns (with double crews) as supporting weapons from his Weapons Company. His vehicles, left behind with his sick, walking wounded, and frostbite cases as drivers, were to join the regimental train on the road. Baker Company, now commanded by First Lieutenant Joseph R. Kurcaba, led off the line of march, followed by Davis and his command group, then Able Company, Charlie Company, battalion headquarters, and How Company, still attached.

It was a very dark night. The guide stars soon disappeared. The snow-covered rock masses all looked alike. The point had to break trail, through snow knee-deep in places. The path, once beaten, became icy and treacherous. Marines stumbled and fell.

*Before leaving Yudam-ni, as a matter of professional pride, the 5th and 7th Marines "policed up the area." Trash, including remnants of rations, was collected into piles and burned. Slim pickings were left for Chinese scavengers who, desperate for food, clothing, and shelter, followed close behind the departing Marines.*

Photo by Sgt Frank C. Kerr, Department of Defense Photo (USMC) A4848



Radios would not work reliably. Davis, moving ahead and floundering in the snow, lost touch with the forward elements of his battalion for a time. He continued forward until he reached the point. His map, hurriedly read by a flashlight held under a poncho, told him that they were climbing Hill 1520, the slopes of which were held by the Chinese. Baker and Charlie Companies converged on the Chinese who were about a platoon in strength, taking them by surprise. Davis stopped on the eastern slope of Hill 1520 to reorganize. Enemy resistance had slackened to small arms fire from ridges across the valley but Davis' men were numb with cold and exhausted. At 0300 he again halted his advance to give his Marines a rest, sending out small patrols for security. Now, for the first time, he gained radio contact with regiment.

### On the MSR with the 5th Marines

Taplett, meanwhile, was marching southward astride the MSR, led



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*In coming back from Yudam-ni, the 1st Marine Division's large number of road-bound wheeled vehicles was both an advantage and a handicap. They carried the wherewithal to live and fight; they also slowed the march and were a temptation for attack by the Chinese. Here an 11th Marines howitzer can be seen in firing position to cover the column's rear.*

by the solitary Pershing tank, followed by a platoon from his How Company and a platoon of ever-useful engineers. His radio call sign, "Darkhorse," suited his own dark visage. He advanced for about a mile before being halted by heavy fire coming from both sides of the road. He fanned out How and Item Companies and they cleared the opposition by 1930.

Taplett gave his battalion a brief rest and then resumed the advance. Item Company, led by Captain Harold Schrier, ran into stiff resistance on the reverse slope of still-troublesome Hill 1520 east of the road. Schrier received permission to fall back to his jump-off position so as to better protect the MSR. The Chinese hit with mortars and an infantry attack. Schrier was wounded for a second time and Second Lieutenant Willard S. Peterson took over the company. Taplett moved George Company and his attached engineers into defensive positions behind Item Company. It was an all-night fight. In the morning, 2 December, 342

enemy dead were counted in front of Item Company. Peterson had only 20 Marines still on their feet when George Company passed through his position to continue the attack against Hill 1520. George and How Company were

*After leaving Yudam-ni, a unit of the 7th Marines, possibly a company of LtCol Davis' 1st Battalion, leaves the road to climb into the hills. Davis' objective was to come down on Toktong Pass from higher ground so as to relieve Capt Barber's embattled Fox Company.*

Photo by Sgt Frank C. Kerr, National Archives Photo (USMC) 127-N-A4849



both down to two-platoon strengths.

As a reserve Taplett had Dog-Easy Company, 7th Marines, detached from the now-dissolved "Damnation Battalion." Dog-Easy Company moved onto the road between How and George Companies. By noon George Company, commanded by Captain Chester R. Hermanson, had taken Hill 1520 and Dog-Easy had run into its own fight on the road. Second Lieutenant Edward H. Seeburger, lone surviving officer of Dog Company, was severely wounded while giving a fire command to the solitary tank. He refused evacuation. (Seeburger faced long hospitalization and after a year was physically retired as a first lieutenant. In 1995 he received a belated Navy Cross.)

Corsairs reduced the roadblock that held up Dog-Easy Company. "Darkhorse" trudged on, How and George Companies on both sides of the MSR and Dog-Easy moving down the middle, followed by the engineers and the solitary tank.



## With Davis' Battalion in the Hills

East of the MSR at daybreak, Davis reoriented the direction of his march. The 1st Battalion, 7th Marines, passed over the east slope of Hill 1520 and attacked toward Hill 1653, a mountain a mile-and-a-half north of Toktong Pass. Davis' radios could not reach Barber on Fox Hill nor could he talk directly to the Corsairs circulating overhead. Fortunately opposition was light except for Chinese nibbling against the rear of his column where Company H, 3d Battalion, was bringing up the wounded on litters. Davis converged on Hill 1653 with his three organic rifle companies.

At last, radio contact was made with Captain Barber on Fox Hill. Barber jauntily offered to send out a patrol to guide Davis into his position. Davis declined the offer but did welcome the control of VMF-312's Corsairs by Barber's forward air controller. Just before noon, lead elements of Company B reached Barber's beleaguered position.

Company A halted on the north side of Hill 1653 to provide manpower to evacuate casualties. Twenty-two wounded had to be carried by litter to safety. The regimental surgeon, Navy Lieutenant Peter E. Arioli, was killed by a Chinese sniper's bullet while supervising the task. Two Marines, who had cracked mentally and who were restrained in improvised strait jackets, died of exposure before they could be evacuated. Marines of Kurcaba's Company B celebrated their arrival on Fox Hill with a noontime meal of air-dropped rations. They then went on to take the high ground that dominated the loop in the road where the MSR passed through Toktong Pass. First Lieutenant Eugenous M. Hovatter's Company A followed

them and the two companies set up a perimeter for the night. Meanwhile the balance of Davis' battalion had joined Barber on Fox Hill. Barber's Company F had suffered 118 casualties—26 killed, 3 missing, and 89 wounded—almost exactly half of his original complement of 240. Six of the seven officers, including Barber himself, were among the wounded.

## 5th Marines on the Road

At the rear of the column on the MSR, Lieutenant Colonel Roise's 2d Battalion, 5th Marines, the designated rear guard, had troubles of its own on Hill 1276 during the early morning hours of 2 December. Captain Uel D. Peters' Company F was hit hard. Night fighters from VMF(N)-542 came on station and were vectored to the target by white phosphorus rounds delivered by Company F's 60mm mortars. Strafing and rockets from the night fighters dampened the Chinese attack, but the fight continued on into mid-morning with Fox Company trying to regain lost ground. By then it was time for Roise to give up his position on Hill 1276 and continue the march south.

Lieutenant Colonel Jack Stevens' 1st Battalion, 5th Marines, had its fight that night of 1-2 December east of the road, being hit by a Chinese force that apparently had crossed the ice of the reservoir. Stevens guessed the number of Chinese killed at 200, at least 50 of them cut down in front of Charlie Company by machine guns.

Lieutenant Colonel William Harris' 3d Battalion, 7th Marines, meanwhile was continuing to have trouble on Hill 1542. Litzenberg reinforced Harris with a composite unit, called "Jig Company," made up of about 100 cannoneers, headquarters troops, and other individ-

uals. Command of this assortment was given to First Lieutenant Alfred I. Thomas. Chinese records captured later indicated that they thought they had killed 100 Americans in this action; actual Marine losses were something between 30 and 40 killed and wounded.

## Yudam-ni to Hagaru-ri, 2-3 December

At the head of the column, Taplett's Darkhorse battalion on the morning of 2 December had to fight for nearly every foot of the way. George Company still had Hill 1520 to cross. Dog-Easy Company was moving along the road itself. South of Hill 1520 at a sharp bend in the road a bridge over a ravine had been blown, and the Chinese covering the break stopped Dog-Easy Company with machine gun fire. Twelve Corsairs came overhead and ripped into the ravine with strafing fire and rockets. Dog-Easy Company, helped by How Company, resumed its advance. The attached engineer platoon, now commanded by Technical Sergeant Edwin L. Knox, patched up the bridge so vehicles could pass. The engineers had started out with 48 men; they were now down to 17. Taplett continued his advance through the night until by 0200, 3 December, he was only 1,000 yards short of Fox Hill. Taplett could only guess where Davis might be with the 1st Battalion, 7th Marines.

To the rear, the Chinese pecked away at the Marines withdrawing from Hills 1276 and 1542. Stevens' 1st Battalion, 5th Marines, continued to provide close-in flank protection. Marine air held off much of the harassment, but the column of vehicles on the road moved slowly and the jeep and truck drivers became targets for Chinese



Photo by Sgt Frank C. Kerr, National Archives Photo (USMC) 127-N-A4840

*Dead Marines at a Yudam-ni aid station wait mutely on their stretchers for loading onto the truck that will take them to eventual burial. Once on the march, practice was to carry those who died in the savage fighting in the hills down to the road where they could be picked up by the regiments' Graves Registration detachments.*

snipers. That night the Chinese got through to Lieutenant Colonel Feehan's 1st Battalion, 11th Marines, and the artillerymen had to repulse them with howitzer fire over open sights.

Six inches of new snow fell during the night. In the morning, 3 December, Taplett combined the remnants of Dog-Easy Company with George Company and returned the command to First Lieutenant Charles D. Mize, who had had George Company until 17 November. From up on Fox Hill, Davis made a converging attack against the Chinese still holding a spur blocking the way to Hagaru-ri. He pushed the Chinese into the guns of Taplett's battalion. An estimated battalion of Chinese was slaughtered. By 1300, Davis' "Ridgerunners" had joined up with Taplett's "Darkhorses."

Davis and Taplett conferred.

The senior Davis now took the lead on the MSR with his battalion. The lone tank still provided the point. The truck column reached Toktong Pass. The critically wounded were loaded onto the already over-burdened vehicles. Less severely wounded would have to walk. Stevens' 1st Battalion, 5th Marines, followed Davis' battalion, passing through Taplett's battalion. Taplett stayed in Toktong Pass until after midnight. Coming up from the rear on the MSR was Roise's 2d Battalion, 5th Marines, followed by Harris' 3d Battalion, 7th Marines, now the rear guard.

Sergeant Robert B. Gault, leader of the 7th Marines Graves Registration Section, came out of Yudam-ni in the column on the MSR with his five-man section and a truck with which to pick up Marine dead encountered along

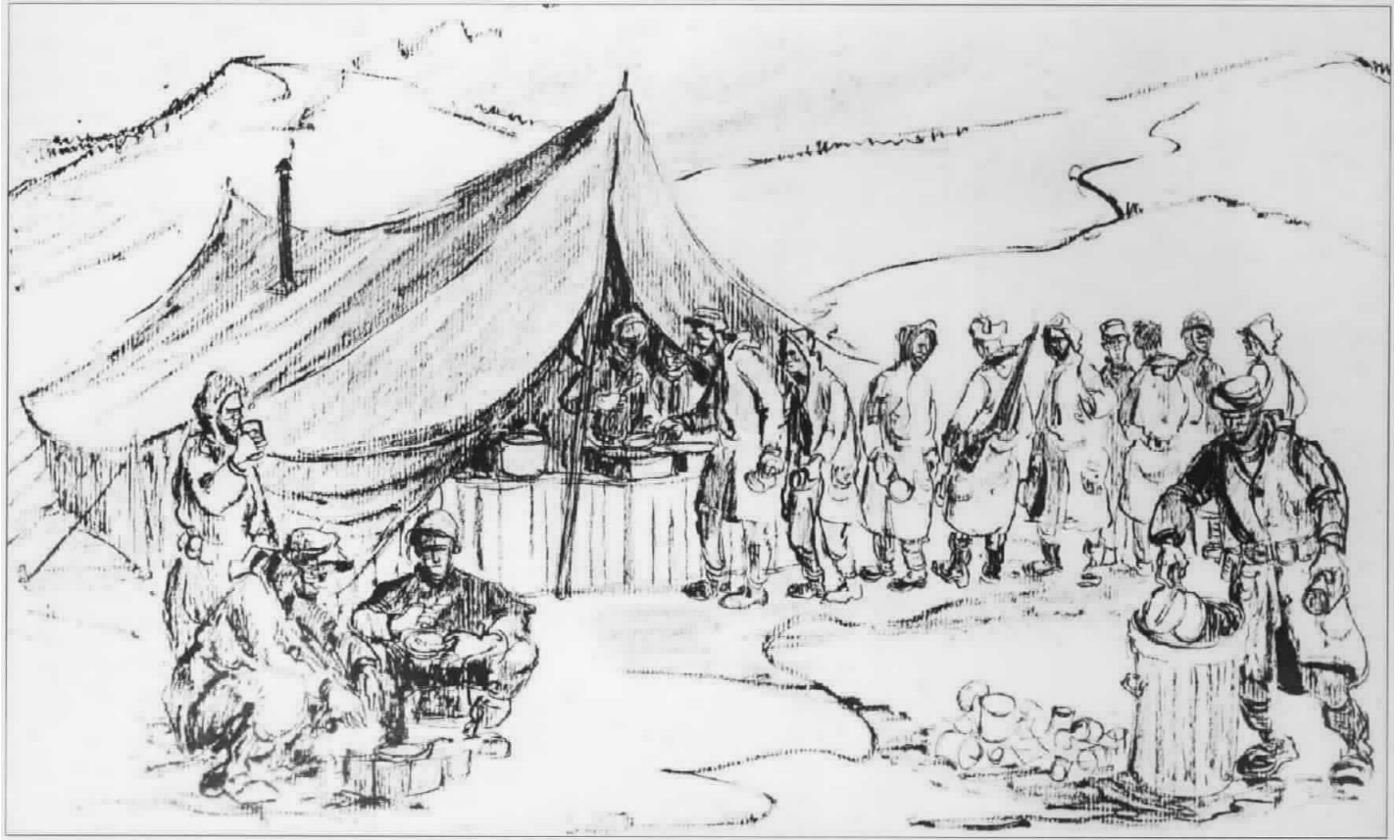
the way. As he remembered it a few months later: "That was the time when there was no outfit, you was with nobody, you was a Marine, you were fighting with everybody. There was no more 5th or 7th; you were just one outfit, just fighting to get the hell out of there, if you could."

### Column Reaches Hagaru-ri

The six fighter-bomber squadrons of Field Harris' 1st Marine Aircraft Wing flew 145 sorties on Sunday, 3 December, most of them in close support of the 5th and 7th Marines. Under this aerial umbrella, Davis' 1st Battalion, 7th Marines, marched along almost unimpeded. In the early evening, Ridge sent out Drysdale with 41 Commando, supported by tanks from Drake's 31st Tank Company, to open the door to the Hagaru-ri perimeter. At about 1900, a few hundred yards out, Davis formed up his battalion into a route column and they marched into the perimeter, singing *The Marines' Hymn*. Hagaru's defenders greeted the marchers with a tumultuous welcome. A field mess offered an unending supply of hot cakes, syrup, and coffee. Litzenberg's 7th Marines command group arrived shortly after Davis' battalion and was welcomed into the motor transport area by Litzenberg's old friend, Olin Beall.

In Tokyo that Sunday, MacArthur sent a message to the Joint Chiefs of Staff that X Corps was being withdrawn to Hungnam as rapidly as possible. He stated that there was no possibility of uniting it with Eighth Army in a line across the peninsula. Such a line, he said, would have to be 150 miles long and held alone by the seven American divisions, the combat effectiveness of the South Korean army now being negligible.





Sketch by Sgt Ralph Schofield, USMCR

*The 5th and 7th Marines on arrival at Hagaru-ri combat base found hot chow waiting for them. The mess tents, operating on a 24-hour basis, provided an almost unvarying but inexhaustible menu of hot cakes, syrup, and coffee. After a few days rest and reorganization, the march to the south resumed.*

The Chinese made no serious objection to the last leg of the march from Yudam-ni to Hagaru-ri until about 0200 on Monday morning, 4 December, when the prime movers hauling eight of McReynolds' 155mm howitzers at the rear of the column ran out of diesel fuel. That halted the column and brought on a Chinese attack. Taplett's battalion, unaware of the break, continued to advance. The artillerymen—assisted by bits and pieces of the 1st and 2d Battalions, 5th Marines, who were on the high ground to the flanks—defended themselves until Taplett could face around and come to their rescue.

It was a bad scene. The eight heavy howitzers had been pushed off the road, perhaps prematurely, and would have to be destroyed the next day by air strikes. A half-mile farther down the MSR was a cache

of air-delivered diesel fuel that would have fueled the prime movers. By 0830 the road was again open. Chinese losses were guessed at 150 dead.

At 1400 on Monday, the rear guard, still provided by the 3d Battalion, 7th Marines, marched into Hagaru-ri and the four-day, 14-mile, breakout from Yudam-ni was over. The Marines had brought in about 1,500 casualties, some 1,000 of them caused by the Chinese, the rest by the cold. Smith observed in his log: "The men of the regiments are. . . pretty well beaten down. We made room for them in tents where they could get warm. Also they were given hot chow. However, in view of their condition, the day after tomorrow [6 December] appears to be the earliest date we can start out for Koto-ri."

### Reorganization at Hagaru-ri

Ridge's Marine defenders of Hagaru-ri breathed much more easily after the arrival in their perimeter of the 5th and 7th RCTs. A sanguine corporal opined to his company commander: "Now that the 5th and 7th Marines are here, we can be resupplied by air, hold until spring, and then attack again to the north."

General Almond flew into Hagaru-ri on Monday afternoon to be briefed on the breakout plan and while there pinned Army Distinguished Service Crosses on the parkas of Smith, Litzenberg, Murray, and Beall. Almond then flew to Koto-ri where he decorated Puller and Reidy (who had been slow in getting his battalion to Koto-ri) with Distinguished Service Crosses. Nine others, including

Gurfein, who had nudged Reidy into moving, received Silver Stars. Reidy was relieved of his command not much later.

For the breakout, Murray's RCT-5, with Ridge's 3d Battalion, 1st Marines, and 41 Commando attached, would briefly take over the defense of Hagaru-ri while Litzenberg's RCT-7, beginning at first light on Wednesday, 6 December, would march to the south. Puller's RCT-1 would continue to hold Koto-ri and Chinhung-ni. All personnel except drivers, radio operators, and casualties were to move on foot. Specially detailed Marines were to provide close-in security to the road-bound vehicles. Any that broke down were to be pushed to the side of the road and destroyed. Troops were to carry two-days of C rations and one unit of fire, which translated for most into full cartridge belts and an extra bandoleer

of ammunition for their M-1 rifles. Another unit of fire was to be carried on organic vehicles. The vehicles were divided into two division trains. Lieutenant Colonel Banks, commanding officer of the 1st Service Battalion, was put in command of Train No. 1, subordinate to RCT-7. Train No. 2, subordinate to RCT-5, was given to Lieutenant Colonel Harry T. Milne, the commander of the 1st Tank Battalion. Although Smith had stated that he would come out with all his supplies and equipment, more realistically a destruction plan, decreeing the disposal of any excess supplies and equipment, was put into effect on 4 December. Bonfires were built. Ironically, loose rounds and canned foods in the fires exploded, causing some casualties to Marines who crowded close to the fires for warmth.

Air Force and Marine transports had flown out over 900 casualties

on Saturday, 2 December, from Hagaru-ri, and more than 700 the next day. To the south that Sunday, 47 casualties were taken out by light aircraft from the strip at Koto-ri. But casualties kept piling up and by the morning of Tuesday, 5 December, some 1,400 casualties—Army and Marine—still remained at Hagaru-ri. In a magnificent effort, they were all flown out that day. Altogether, in the first five days of December, by best count, 4,312 men—3,150 Marines, 1,137 soldiers, and 25 Royal Marines—were air-evacuated.

Even a four-engine Navy R5D ventured a landing. Takeoff with a load of wounded in an R5D was so hairy that it was not tried again. An R4D—the Marine equivalent of the sturdy C-47—wiped out its landing gear in landing. An Air Force C-47 lost power on take-off and crashed-landed outside the Marine lines. Marines rushed to

*Members of this patrol, moving along the abandoned narrow gauge railroad track that paralleled the main supply route, help along a wounded or exhausted comrade while the*

*point and rear riflemen provide watchful cover. No wounded Marine need worry about being left behind.*

Sketch by Sgt Ralph Schofield, USMCR







National Archives Photo (USMC) 127-N-A4909

*Aerial evacuation of wounded and severely frostbitten Marines and soldiers from Hagaru-ri saved many lives. During the first five days of December, 4,312 men—3,150 Marines, 1,137 soldiers, and 25 Royal Marines—were air evacuated by Air Force and Marine transports that also brought in supplies and replacements.*

the rescue. The plane had to be abandoned and destroyed, but there were no personnel casualties during the entire evacuation process.

During those same first five days of December, 537 replacements, the majority of them recovering wounded from hospitals in Japan, arrived by air at Hagaru-ri. Most rejoined their original units. A platoon sergeant in Weapons Company, 3d Battalion, 1st Marines, wounded in the fighting in Seoul, assured his company commander that he was glad to be back.

Visitors who could wangle spaces on board the incoming transports began arriving at Hagaru-ri. Marguerite "Maggie" Higgins of the *New York Herald-Tribune*, well known to the Marines from both the Pusan Perimeter and the Inchon-Seoul campaigns, was among the gaggle of war correspondents that arrived on Tuesday, 5 December, including former Marine combat correspondent Keyes Beach. Higgins announced her intention to march out with the Marines. General

Smith disabused her of her intention and ordered that she be out of the perimeter by air by nightfall.

A British reporter made the impolite error of referring to the withdrawal as a "retreat." Smith patiently corrected him, pointing out that when surrounded there was no retreat, only an attack in a new direction. The press improved Smith's remark into: "Retreat, hell, we're just attacking in a new direction." The new television technology was demonstrated by scenes taken of the aerial evacuation of the casualties and an interview with General Smith and Lieutenant Colonel Murray.

Major General William H. Tunner, USAF, commander of the Combat Cargo Command and greatly admired by the Marines because of the sterling performance of his command, was one of the visitors. Tunner had flown the Hump from Burma into China during World War II and later commanded much of the Berlin Airlift. He solicitously offered to evacuate the rest of the troops now in Hagaru-ri. Smith stiffly told him that no man who was able-bodied would be evacu-

ated. "He seemed somewhat surprised," wrote Smith.

Almond met with Major General Soule, commander of the 3d Infantry Division, that Tuesday, 5 December, and ordered him to form a task force under a general officer "to prepare the route of withdrawal [of the 1st Marine Division] if obstructed by explosives or whatnot, especially at the bridge site." The site in question lay in Funchilin Pass. Almond apparently did not know that the bridge had already been destroyed. The downed span threatened to block the Marines' withdrawal. Soule gave command of what was designated as "Task Force Dog" to his assistant division commander, Brigadier General Armistead D. "Red" Mead, a hard-driving West Pointer who had been G-3 of the Ninth Army in the European Theater in World War II.

### *Hagaru-ri to Koto-ri, 6 December*

At noon on Tuesday, 5 December, Murray relieved Ridge of his responsibility as Hagaru-ri defense commander, and the battalions of the 5th Marines plumped up the thin lines held by the 3d Battalion, 1st Marines. The Chinese did not choose to test the strengthened defenses, but at about 2000 that evening an Air Force B-26 mistakenly dropped a stick of six 500-pound bombs close to Ridge's command tent. His forward air controller could not talk to the Air Force pilot because of crystal differences in their radios, but an obliging Marine night-fighter from Lieutenant Colonel Max J. Volcansek, Jr.'s VMF(N)-542 came overhead and promised to shoot down any Air Force bomber that might return to repeat the outrage.

The well-liked Max Volcansek, 36, born in Minnesota, had come



Photo by Cpl Arthur Curtis, National Archives Photo (USA) 111-SC354492

*After her adventures at Chosin, including her aborted efforts to march out with the Marines, Marguerite "Maggie" Higgins, wearing a Navy parka and shoe-pacs, arrived safely at Haneda Air Force Base, Tokyo, on 15 December. Her broadly smiling traveling companion is Army MajGen William F. Marquat of MacArthur's staff.*

into the Marine Corps as an aviation cadet in 1936 after graduating from Macalester College. During World War II he had flown Corsairs while commanding VMF-222 in the Pacific and had scored at least one Japanese plane. During the battle for Seoul he had been wounded and shot down but quickly recovered and continued in command of VMF(N)-542.

The plan of attack for Wednesday, 6 December, called for the 5th Marines to clean up East Hill while the 7th Marines moved south along the MSR

toward Koto-ri. Close air support for the attack against East Hill was to be on station at 0700. With a touch of condescension, Murray's Marines told Ridge's Marines to stand back and watch for a demonstration of how a hill should be taken.

Smith wanted to march out with his men, but Shepherd ordered him to fly to Koto-ri. Death or wounding of Smith, or worse, his capture by the Chinese, could not be risked. By this time the lurking presence of seven CCF divisions had been identified by prisoner of war interrogations—the 58th,

59th, 60th, 76th, 79th, 80th, and 89th. Two more divisions—the 77th and 78th—were reported in the area but not yet confirmed.

Later it would be learned that the 26th CCF Army—consisting of the 76th, 77th, and 78th Divisions, reinforced by the 88th Division from the 30th CCF Army, had moved down from the north into positions on the east side of the MSR between Hagaru-ri and Koto-ri. They had relieved the 60th Division, which had moved into positions south of Koto-ri. Elements of the 60th Division were preparing for the defense of Funchilin Pass including positions on the dominant terrain feature, Hill 1081. Even farther south the 89th Division was positioning itself to move against the defenders of Chinhung-ni.

Murray has given a characteristically laconic account of the attack by the 5th Marines against East Hill:

I had been ordered to take a little hill, and I had Hal Roise do that job. When he got over there, he found about 200 Chinese in a mass, and he captured the whole crowd of them. So we had about 200 prisoners we had to take care of. . . . A lot of them were in such bad shape that we left them there, left some medical supplies, and left them there for the Chinese to come along and take care of them after we left.

It was not quite that simple. Heavy air, artillery, and mortar preparation began at 0700 on Thursday, 6 December. Captain Samuel S. Smith's Dog Company jumped off in the assault at 0900, beginning a fight that would go on until daylight the next morning.





Photo by Sgt Frank C. Kerr, National Archives Photo (USMC) 127-N-A5520

*In a ceremony at Masan on 21 December, LtCol Harold S. Roise, the stalwart commander of 2d Battalion, 5th Marines, receives a Silver Star for actions incident to the seizure of Kimpo Airfield after the Inchon landing. Further awards for Roise for heroism at Chosin would come later.*

All three rifle companies of Roise's 2d Battalion and Charlie Company of the 1st Battalion were drawn into it. Estimates of enemy killed ran as high as 800 to 1,000. East Hill was never completely taken, but the Chinese were pushed back far enough to prevent them from interfering with the exit of the division from Hagaru-ri.

### RCT-7 Attacks South

General Smith planned to close his command post at Hagaru-ri on Wednesday morning, 6 December. Before he could leave General Barr, commander of the 7th Infantry Division, who arrived to check on the status of his soldiers, visited him. The survivors of Task Force Faith coupled with units that

had been at Hagaru-ri and Hudong-ni added up to a provisional battalion of 490 able-bodied men under command of Army Lieutenant Colonel Anderson. As organized by Anderson, the "battalion" actually was two very small battalions (3d Battalion, 31st Infantry, under Major Carl Witte and 1st Battalion, 32d Infantry, under Major Robert E. Jones) each with three very small rifle companies. Smith attached Anderson's force to RCT-7 and it was sometimes called "31/7."

Litzenberg had about 2,200 men—about half his original strength—for the breakout to Koto-ri. His attack order put Lockwood's 2d Battalion, with tanks, on the MSR as the advance guard; Davis' 1st Battalion on the

right of Changjin River and the MSR; Anderson's provisional Army battalion on the left of the road; and Harris' 3d Battalion on the road as the rear guard.

Lockwood, it will be recalled, had stayed at Hagaru-ri with his command group and much of his Weapons Company while Companies D and E went forward to Yudam-ni and Company F held Toktong Pass. At 0630, tanks from Company D, 1st Tank Battalion, led Lockwood's reunited, but pitifully shrunken battalion out of the perimeter through the south road-block. Almost immediately it ran into trouble from Chinese on the left side of the road. The morning fog burned off and air was called in. A showy air attack was delivered against the tent camp south of the perimeter, abandoned days earlier by the Army engineers and now periodically infested with Chinese seeking warmth and supplies. Lockwood's two rifle companies—Fox Company and Dog-Easy Company—pushed through and the advance resumed at noon. Meanwhile, barely a mile out of Hagaru-ri, Captain John F. Morris' Company C, 1st Battalion, surprised an enemy platoon on the high ground to the southeast of the hamlet of Tona-ri and killed most of them.

At 1400 Smith received a reassuring message from Litzenberg that the march south was going well. Smith decided that it was time to move his command post to Koto-ri. His aide, Major Martin J. "Stormy" Sexton, World War II raider, asked the commander of Weapons Company, 3d Battalion, 1st Marines, for the loan of a jeep to take his boss to the airstrip. A 10-minute helicopter ride took Smith and Sexton to Koto-ri where Puller was waiting. Smith began planning for the next step in the withdrawal.



*Col Litzenberg's 7th Marines led off the march south from Hagaru-ri on 6 December. Here one of his units pauses at the roadblock held by Weapons Company, 3d Battalion, 1st*

*Photo by Sgt Frank C. Kerr, Department of Defense Photo (USMC) A5464 Marines, before exiting the town to watch a drop of napalm by a Marine Corsair against a camp abandoned by Army engineers, now infested with Chinese.*

Meanwhile Lockwood's 2d Battalion, 7th Marines, had run into more serious trouble another mile down the road. Davis' 1st Battalion, up in the hills, could see the enemy; Lockwood's battalion, on the road itself, could not. Fox Company, with some help from Dog-Easy Company and the Army mini-battalions under Anderson, pushed through at about 1500. Davis' battalion continued to play company-sized hopscotch from hilltop to hilltop on the right of the road. By dark, lead elements of RCT-7 were about three miles south of Hagaru-ri. Enemy resistance stiffened and air reconnaissance spoke of Chinese columns coming in from the east, but Litzenberg decided to push on. After two more miles of advance, Lockwood's battalion was stopped in what Drysdale had called Hell Fire Valley by what seemed to be a solitary Chinese machine gun firing from the left. An Army tank solved

that problem. Another half-mile down the road a blown bridge halted the column. The engineers did their job, the march resumed, but then there was another blown bridge. At dawn on Thursday things got better. Air came overhead, and 2d Battalion, 7th

Marines, had no more trouble as it marched the last few miles into Koto-ri. Through all of this Lockwood, sick with severe bronchitis, had sat numbly in his jeep. Early that morning his executive officer, Major Sawyer, had been wounded in the leg by a mortar

*Coming out of Hagaru-ri, Col Litzenberg used LtCol Lockwood's 2d Battalion, 7th Marines, reinforced with tanks, as his advance guard. Here a heavy machine gun squad rests by the side of the road while a M-26 Pershing medium tank trundles by. The M-26 mounted a powerful flat-trajectory 90mm gun.*

*Photo by Sgt Frank C. Kerr, National Archives Photo (USMC) 127-N-A5469*







Photo by Sgt Frank C. Kerr, Department of Defense Photo (USMC) A5428

*Marching, encumbered with weapons, packs, and winter clothing, on the road from Hagaru-ri to Koto-ri was heavy work, even without Chinese interference. This unit of the 7th Marines, taking advantage of a halt, manages a quick nap. Most of the fighting was on the high ground on both sides of the MSR, but occasionally the Chinese reached the road.*

fragment and was out of action. Major James F. Lawrence, Jr., 32, University of North Carolina 1941, the battalion S-3, had become the de facto commander.

Things were going even less well on the left flank and rear of the column. The Army provisional battalion, fragile to begin with, had fought itself out and was replaced by Harris' 3d Battalion, 7th Marines. By 2100 the Chinese had come down to within hand-grenade range of the trucks on the road. Harris deployed his George and Item Companies to push them back. Sometime before dawn, Lieutenant Colonel William Harris, son of Major General Field Harris, disappeared. He was last seen walking down the road with two rifles slung over his shoulder. A search for him found no body and it was presumed he had been taken prisoner. Major Warren Morris, the executive officer of the 1st Battalion, took over command of the 3d Battalion and it reached

Koto-ri at about 0700 on Thursday morning.

Chinese prisoners taken along the road from Hagaru-ri to Koto-ri

*The role of the rifle companies in the breakout from Hagaru-ri on 6 December was to take the high ground on both sides of the road. Much fought over "East Hill" dominated the exit from Hagaru-ri. It was never completely taken, but the Chinese were pushed back far enough to permit the relatively safe passage of the division trains of vehicles.*

Photo by Sgt Frank C. Kerr, Department of Defense Photo (USMC) A5465



were identified as being from the 76th and 77th Divisions of 26th CCF Army.

For Almond, most of Wednesday, 6 December, was absorbed with a visit by General J. Lawton Collins, the Army chief of staff. Collins and Almond dropped in at the command posts of the Army's 7th and 3d Infantry Divisions, but "weather precluded flying to Koto-ri" for a visit with Smith. Collins left at nightfall for Tokyo. The visit had gone well and Almond noted contentedly in his diary: "Gen. Collins seemed completely satisfied with the operation of X Corps and apparently was much relieved in finding the situation well in hand."

### At Koto-ri, 7 December

First Lieutenant Leo R. Ryan, the adjutant of the 2d Battalion, 7th Marines, alarmed by Lieutenant Colonel Lockwood's apathy, pressed the battalion surgeon and assistant surgeon, Lieutenants (jg)



*Soldiers, readily recognizable as such in their short parkas, march in single file on 6 December along the MSR south of Hagaru-ri. RCT-31, badly mauled east of the reservoir and*

*Photo by Sgt Frank C. Kerr, Department of Defense Photo (USMC) A5466 reduced in combat effectives to a small provisional battalion commanded by LtCol Berry K. Anderson, USA, was attached to the 7th Marines for the breakout.*

Laverne F. Peiffer and Stanley I. Wolf, to examine him. Neither doctor was a psychiatrist, but they came to the conclusion that Lockwood was suffering from a neurosis that made him unfit for command. This was communicated to Colonel Litzenberg who confirmed Major Lawrence as the acting commander.

In mid-morning, Thursday, 7 December, to ease the passage of the division train, both the 2d and 3d Battalions, 7th Marines, were ordered to face about, move north again, and set up blocking positions on both sides of the road between Koto-ri and Hill 1182. On the way the 2d Battalion picked up 22 Royal Marine survivors who had been laagered up in a Korean house ever since Task Force

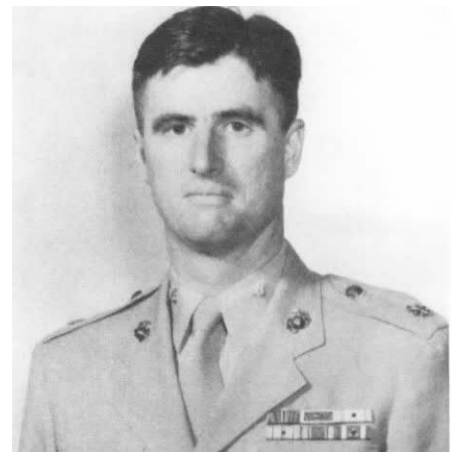
Drysdale had passed that way. A VMO-6 pilot had spotted them three days earlier by the letters "H-E-L-P" stamped in the snow and had dropped rations and medical supplies.

Elsewhere on Thursday, 7 December, X Corps and Eighth Army had received orders from GHQ Tokyo to plan to withdraw, in successive positions if necessary, to the Pusan area. Eighth Army was to hold on to the Inchon-Seoul area as long as possible. X Corps was to withdraw through Hungnam and eventually to pass to the command of Eighth Army.

Almond visited Smith at Koto-ri and assured him that Soule's 3d Infantry Division would provide maximum protection from Chin-hung-ni on into Hamhung. Smith

*LtCol William F. Harris, commanding officer of the 3d Battalion, 7th Marines, and son of MajGen Field Harris, disappeared on the march from Hagaru-ri to Koto-ri. He was last seen moving down the road with two rifles slung over his shoulder. His exact fate remains a mystery.*

National Archives Photo (USMC) 127-N-A45353







National Archives Photo (USA) 111-SC354254  
*General J. Lawton Collins, the Army chief of staff, left, visited X Corps on 6 December and warmly praised MajGen Almond, right, for his conduct of the battle. Collins got to the command posts of the 3d and 7th Infantry Divisions, but bad weather kept him from seeing MajGen Smith and the command post of the 1st Marine Division at Koto-ri.*

was concerned over the coordination of artillery fire by the 3d Division. Almond promised that it would be under Marine control. He spoke briefly with Puller and Litzenberg and noted that night in his diary, "Morale is high in the Marine Division."

All elements of RCT-7 had closed into Koto-ri by 1700 on the evening of 7 December; but Division Train No. 1, which they were to have shepherded, did not get out of Hagaru-ri until 1600 on the 6th. A little more than a mile out of Hagaru-ri the Chinese came down on the column. They might have thought the train would be easy pickings; if so, they were wrong. They hit Major Francis "Fox" Parry's 3d Battalion, 11th Marines. The artillerymen, fighting as infantry, held them off. Another

mile down the road and the process was repeated. This time the gunners got to use their howitzers, firing at pointblank range, and happily, if optimistically, guessed that they had killed or wounded all but about 50 of the estimated 500 to 800 attackers.

As the night wore on there was more fighting along the road. The division headquarters had a stiff scuffle sometime after midnight. The members of the division band were given the opportunity to demonstrate their skills as machine gunners. The Military Police Company was bringing out a bag of 160 able-bodied prisoners of war. The prisoners got caught between Chinese and American fires and most were killed. Night hecklers from David Wolfe's VMF(N)-513 helped and at dawn the omnipresent Corsairs from Frank Cole's VMF-312 came on station and resolved the situation. The column moved through the stark debris—there were still bodies lying about and many broken vehicles—of Hell Fire Valley and by 1000 on 7 December Division Train No. 1, after an all-night march, was in Koto-ri.

Eleven miles away in Hagaru, Division Train No. 2, unable to move onto the road until Division Train No. 1 had cleared, did not get started until well after dark on 6 December. At midnight, the head of the train was still barely out of the town. Lieutenant Colonel Milne, the train commander, asked for infantry help. Taplett's 3d Battalion, 5th Marines, was detailed to the job. Taplett moved forward with two companies. Nothing much happened until dawn on 7 December when the column was able to continue on under air cover.

In Hagaru-ri engineers and ordnance men were busy blowing up everything that could be blown up

and burning the rest. Stevens' 1st Battalion, 5th Marines; Ridge's 3d Battalion, 1st Marines; and Drysdale's 41 Commando stood poised to leave but could not get out of town until Thursday morning, 7 December, after some fighting in Hagaru-ri itself, because of the clogged roads. Roise's 2d Battalion, 5th Marines, came off East Hill and fell in behind them as rear guard at about 1000. The Chinese once again seemed more interested in looting what was left of the town than in further fighting. After some light interference on the road, all elements of RCT-5 were safely tucked into the Koto-ri perimeter before midnight on the 7th.

A number of units—including Roise's 2d Battalion, 5th Marines; Ridge's 3d Battalion, 1st Marines; and Drake's 31st Tank Company—assert that they provided the rear point coming out of Hagaru-ri. Able Company engineers, however, busy with last-minute demolitions in the already burning town, probably have the best claim. In round figures, 10,000 Marines and soldiers, shepherding 1,000 vehicles, had marched 11 miles in 38 hours. Marine losses were 103 dead, 7 missing, and 506 wounded.

Marine engineers, arguably the greatest heroes of the campaign, had widened and improved the airstrip at Koto-ri so that it could handle World War II TBMs, no longer used as torpedo bombers, but now stripped-down utility aircraft that could bring in a few passengers—as many as nine—and lift out a corresponding number of wounded. The TBMs, plus the light aircraft and helicopters from VMO-6, took out about 200 casualties on 7 December and 225 more on the 8th. Most of the TBMs were piloted, not by squadron pilots, but by otherwise desk-bound aviators on the wing and group staffs.



National Archives Photo (USMC) 127-N-A5457

*Chinese prisoners within the Hagaru-ri perimeter were herded into a stockade guarded by a detachment of Capt John H. Griffin's Military Police Company. When the Marines*

*evacuated the town they left the wounded prisoners of war behind in a compound, telling them that their comrades would soon be down from the hills to help them.*

### March South from Koto-ri

There would be no rest at Koto-ri. By somebody's count 14,229 men had piled into Koto-ri, including the long-awaited Army's 2d Battalion, 31st Infantry, which had arrived far too late to go forward to join its regiment, the shredded RCT-31, east of the reservoir. Reidy's battalion was to continue as part of Puller's RCT-1 in the break out.

Anderson's two-battalion collection of soldiers, quite separate from Reidy's battalion, had suffered additional casualties—both battle and from the cold—coming in from Hagaru-ri. Major Witte, one of the battalion commanders, was among the wounded. Anderson reorganized his shrinking command into two companies: a 31st Company under Captain George A. Rasula, a canny Finnish-American from Minnesota who knew what cold weather was all about, and a 32d Company under Captain Robert J. Kitz, who had

been a company commander in Reilly's 3d Battalion, 31st Infantry, in Task Force Faith. Anderson then stepped aside from immediate command, giving the battalion to Major Robert E. Jones who had been Don Faith's S-1 and adjutant.

As a paratrooper in World War II, Jones had jumped with the 101st Airborne Division near Eindhoven, Holland. Now, coming out of Koto-ri, his improvised battalion remained part of Litzenberg's RCT-7.

*The Marines left Hagaru-ri in flames, wanting to leave no shelter for the Chinese. Veterans still argue as to which unit was the last to leave the town. Marines from Company A, 1st Engineer Battalion, charged with last minute demolitions, probably have the best claim to this honor.*

National Archives Photo (USMC) 127-N-A5458





Photo by David Douglas Duncan

*As the Marines moved south from Hagaru-ri to Koto-ri they had to pass through "Hell Fire Valley," site of Task Force Drysdale's heaviest losses. The Chinese had made no attempt to salvage the abandoned vehicles, but the Marines did and learned that some needed nothing more than a push to start them.*

The march south was to be resumed at first light on Friday, 8 December. It would be a "skin-the-cat" maneuver with the rifle companies leap-frogging along the high ground on each side of the road while the heavily laden vehicles of the division trains made their way toward Funchilin Pass and then down the pass to Chinhung-ni. At the foot of the

pass the Marines could expect to find elements of the Army's 3d Infantry Division manning the outer defenses of the Hamhung-Hungnam area. But the road was not yet open. Smith had been warned, as early as 4 December, that the Chinese had blown a critical bridge halfway down the pass. Here water came out from the Changjin Reservoir through a tunnel

into four giant pipes called "penstocks." The bridge had crossed over the penstocks at a point where the road clung to an almost sheer cliff. If the division was to get out its tanks, artillery, and vehicles the 24-foot gap would somehow have to be bridged.

Lieutenant Colonel Partridge, the division engineer, had made an aerial reconnaissance on 6 December and determined that the gap could be spanned by four sections of an M-2 steel "Treadway" bridge. He had no such bridge sections, but fortuitously there was a detachment of the Treadway Bridge Company from the Army's 58th Engineer Battalion at Koto-ri with two Brockway trucks that could carry the bridge sections if they could be air-delivered. A section was test-dropped at Yonpo by an Air Force C-119 and got smashed up in the process. Not discouraged, Partridge pressed for an airdrop of eight sections—to give himself a 100 percent insurance factor that at least four sections would land in useable condition. The 2,500-pound bridge sections began their parachute drop at 0930 on 7 December. One fell into the hands of the Chinese. Another was banged up beyond use. But six sections landed intact. Plywood center sections for wheeled traffic were also dropped. Next, the Brockway trucks would have to deliver the sections to the bridge site three-and-a-half miles away, a location likely to be defended fiercely by the Chinese.

Partridge met with Litzenberg and it was decided that the Brockway trucks would move at the front of the 7th Marines' regimental train after RCT-7 jumped-off at 0800 on 8 December. The bridge site was dominated by Hill 1081 so Lieutenant Colonel Schmuck's 1st Battalion, 1st Marines, at Chinhung-ni was





Photo by Sgt William R. Keating, Department of Defense Photo (USMC) A5461

*One of the vehicles salvaged by the Marines in "Hell Fire Valley" was a bullet-ridden Army ambulance. Battered, but still in running condition, the Marines used it to evacuate casualties incurred along the line of march. Once safely in Masan, a large number of Army vehicles were returned to the Army.*

ordered to advance overland three miles to the north to take the hill. All of this required exquisite timing.

First objective for Litzenberg's 7th Marines coming out of Koto-ri was the high ground on the right of the road for a distance of about a mile-and-a-half. Murray's 5th Marines would then pass through the 7th Marines and take and hold the high ground for the next mile. Puller's 1st Marines was to stay in Koto-ri until the division and regimental trains had cleared and then was to relieve the 5th and 7th Marines on their high ground positions so the trains could pass on to Funchilin Pass. The 5th and 7th Marines, relieved by the 1st, would then move on down the pass toward Hamhung. The 11th Marines artillery would displace from battery firing position to battery firing position but for much of the time would be limbered up and on the road. Heavy reliance for fire support would be placed on

the Corsairs and organic mortars. Tanks would follow at the end of the vehicular column so there would be no chance of a crippled

tank blocking the road.

Task Force Dog, under Brigadier General Mead and consisting of the 3d Battalion, 7th Infantry, liberally reinforced with tanks and artillery, had started north on 7 December, passed through Su-dong, and by late afternoon had reached Chinhung-ni. Schmuck's 1st Battalion, 1st Marines, after being relieved by Task Force Dog, moved into an assembly area several miles north of Chinhung-ni.

The jump-offs from both Koto-ri and Chinhung-ni on the morning of 8 December were made in a swirling snowstorm. Schmuck's Marines started the six-mile march up the MSR to the line of departure at 0200. His plan was for Captain Robert P. Wray's Company C to take Hill 891, the southwestern nose of Hill 1081, and hold it while his other two rifle companies passed through and continued the attack. Captain Barrow's Company A was to attack east of the road and on up to the summit of Hill 1081. Captain Noren's

*Koto-ri as it looked on 8 December, the day that the march to the south continued. Virtually all the combat strength of the 1st Marine Division, plus some Army troops, had concentrated there for the breakout. The next critical terrain feature would be Funchilin Pass where a blown bridge threatened to halt the march. Its repair posed a problem for Marine engineers.*

Photo by Sgt William R. Keating, Department of Defense (USMC) A5354





Photo by Sgt William R. Keating, Department of Defense Photo (USMC) A5361

*Snow-dusted M-4A3 Sherman tanks of LtCol Harry T. Milne's 1st Tank Battalion await the word at Koto-ri to move out to the south. The tanks had turned in a disap-*

*pointing performance with Task Force Drysdale. There would be further problems with the tanks in Funchilin Pass.*

*Immediately outside of Koto-ri, two Chinese soldiers willingly surrender to members of a Marine rifle company early on 9 December. Each leg of the withdrawal, from Yudam-ni to*

*Hagaru-ri, from Hagaru-ri to Koto-ri, and from Koto-ri to Chibung-ni, showed a marked improvement in Marine tactics to deal with the situation.*

Photo by Cpl Peter W. McDonald, National Archives Photo (USMC) 127-N-A5388



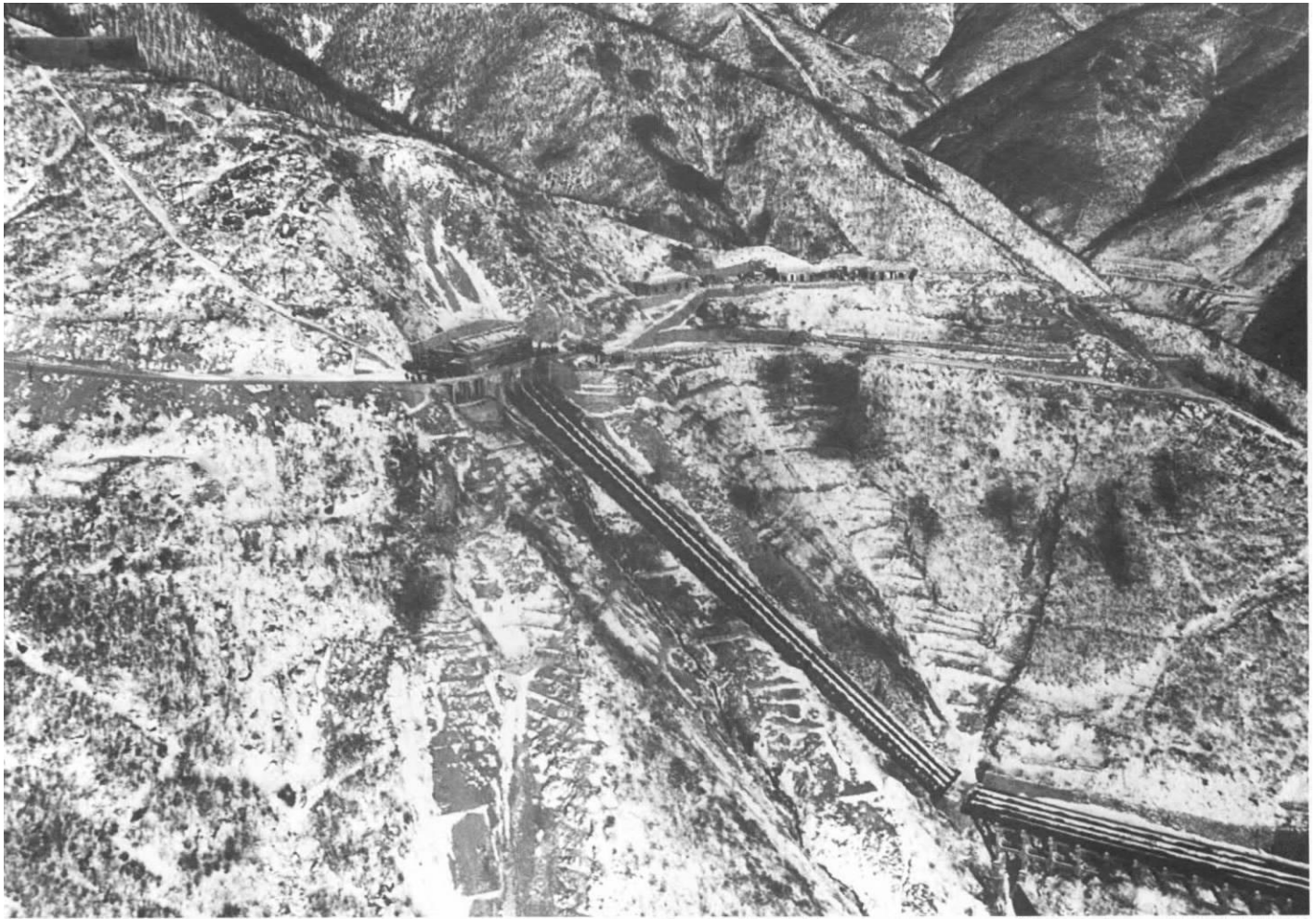


Photo by SSgt Ed Barnum, Department of Defense Photo (USMC) A130504

*Aerial view taken from one of VMO-6's light observation aircraft, flown by 1stLt John D. Cotton, shows the power station, the pipes or "penstocks" that carried off the water, and*

*the precarious nature of the road occupying a thin shelf cut into the precipitous slope.*

Company B would be on the left flank, moving along the slope between Barrow and the road.

Wray had his objective by dawn. On it Schmuck built up a base of fire with his 81mm mortars and an attached platoon of 4.2-inch mortars—the effective, but road-bound “four-deuces.” Also effective, but tied to the road, were five Army self-propelled anti-aircraft guns—quad .50-calibers and duel 40mms—attached from Company B, 50th Antiaircraft Artillery (Automatic Weapons) Battalion.

Things went like clockwork. Schmuck's main attack jumped off at 1000. Barrow clambered up the hogback ridge that led to the summit of Hill 1081; Noren advanced

*A mixed group of Marines and soldiers struggle up an ice-covered slope somewhere south of Koto-ri. The weather and the terrain were at least as much of an enemy as the Chinese. Marines, disdainful of the Army's performance east of the reservoir, learned in the march-out from Hagaru-ri that soldiers, properly led, were not much different from themselves.*

Photo by Cpl Peter W. McDonald, National Archives Photo (USMC) 127-N-A5389







Sketch by Sgt Ralph Schofield, USMCR

*Going downhill was easier for the most part than going up, but wherever it was the march was single file of Marines, or at best a double file. Even stripped down to essentials, the average Marine carried 35 to 40 pounds of weapons, ammunition, rations, and sleeping bag. Anything more, such as toilet articles, shelter half, or poncho, was a luxury.*

along the wooded western slope of the hill. Noren met scattered resistance, was stopped momentarily by two enemy machine guns, which he then took out with

a tidy schoolbook solution—engaging the enemy with his own machine guns and 60mm mortars while a platoon worked around in a right hook. He then ran into a

bunker complex, took it after a savage fight, and found a kettle of rice cooking in the largest bunker. Schmuck moved his headquarters forward and set up his command post in the bunker only to find it louse-ridden. The day cost Noren three killed and six wounded.

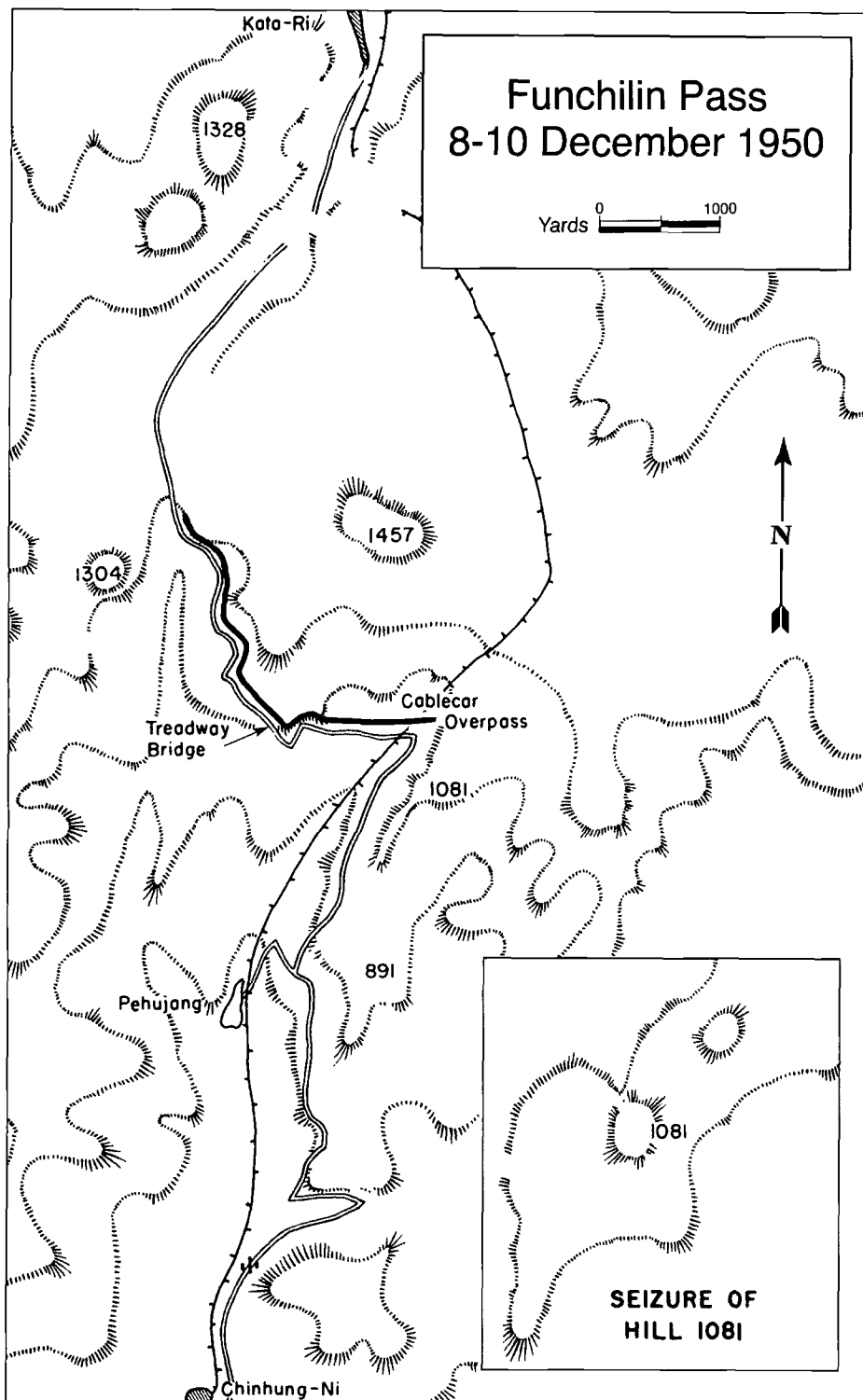
Barrow had gone up the ridge against no enemy whatsoever, impeded only by the icy ridgeline, so narrow that he had to march in a dangerous single file. Through a break in the snowstorm, Barrow got a glimpse of a strongly bunkered Chinese position on a knob between his company and the crest of the hill. He elected to do a double envelopment, sending his 2d Platoon around to the left and his 1st Platoon around to the right. He went himself with the 3d Platoon up the center in a frontal attack. It all came together in a smashing assault. Barrow's

*Fresh snow fell during the march from Koto-ri to the top of Funchilin Pass. When the column on the road halted, as it frequently did, the Marines tended to bunch up, making*

*themselves inviting targets for Chinese mortar and machine gun fire. March discipline had to be enforced by tough corporals and sergeants more than by orders from the top.*

Photo by Sgt Frank C. Kerr, National Archives Photo (USMC) 127-N-A5358





Marines counted more than 60 Chinese dead. They themselves lost 10 killed, 11 wounded. The snow ended and the night was clear. At midnight a Chinese platoon bravely but foolishly tried to evict Barrow's Marines and lost 18 killed. To Barrow's left, all was quiet in front of Noren's position.

To their north, Litzenberg's 7th

Marines had come out of Koto-ri on schedule on the morning of 8 December. Counting the Army provisional battalion he had four battalions. Two were to clear each side of the road. One was to advance along the MSR, to be followed by the regimental train and the reserve battalion. Major Morris had been assigned to take Hill

1328 on the right of the road with his 3d Battalion. Going was slow. By mid-morning Litzenberg grew impatient and urged him to commit his reserve company. Morris snapped back: "All three companies are up there—50 men from George Company, 50 men from How, 30 men from Item. That's it." Shortly after noon, Litzenberg committed his regimental reserve, Lawrence's 2d Battalion, to come to the assistance of Morris. By nightfall the two battalions had joined but not much more was accomplished.

Left of the road, the provisional Army battalion, under Major Jones, had jumped off on time and, with the help of two Marine tanks, had moved along against light resistance. In two jumps Jones reached Hill 1457 where his soldiers dug in for the night. Their position was raked by Chinese automatic fire, and in a brief nasty action 12 enemy were killed at a cost of one soldier killed, four wounded.

Litzenberg's executive officer, Lieutenant Colonel Frederick Dowsett, had been shot through the ankle the day before. Litzenberg moved Raymond Davis up to executive officer to replace him and gave the 1st Battalion, still his strongest battalion, to Major Sawyer, whose wound had proved superficial. Sawyer's initial mission was to move a mile down the road and wait for the 3d Battalion to come up on his right flank. The 1st Battalion now had it own fight.

Sawyer's lead platoon came under fire from Hill 1304. Baker Company continued to move against the high ground just left of the road while Able and Charlie Companies moved more deeply to the right against the hill. Baker Company was caught in a cross-fire; the company commander, Lieutenant Kurcaba, was killed, two of his platoon leaders were



Photo by Sgt Frank C. Kerr, National Archives Photo (USMC) 127-N-A5357

*A section of two 81mm mortars set up in the snow to give fire support for a rifle company in the attack. These high-angle medium mortars, with a shell almost as lethal as a 105mm howitzer round, were considered to be the infantry battalion commander's own "artillery." Mortars were particularly effective in the defense of a perimeter.*

wounded. First Lieutenant William W. "Woody" Taylor took over command of the company and had his objective by nightfall. Able and Charlie Companies meanwhile had taken Hill 1304 without much trouble. Sawyer divided his battalion into two perimeters for the night. Vehicular movement along the MSR was halted.

It had been nearly noon on 8 December before Murray's 5th Marines, following behind the 7th Marines, moved out of Koto-ri. Stevens' 1st Battalion was in the lead. Stevens sent out his Baker and Charlie Companies to take Hill 1457. Charlie Company joined up unexpectedly with the Army's provisional battalion and the soldiers and Marines had the Chinese off the high ground by mid-afternoon. Baker and Charlie Companies, combined with the Army troops, formed a perimeter for the night. Able Company had its own perimeter closer to the MSR. Murray moved 41 Commando, in reserve, up behind the 1st Battalion.

Meanwhile, the 2d and 3d

Battalions of Puller's 1st Marines held Koto-ri itself. For the defenders the problem was not the scattered small arms fire of the Chinese, but the flood of civilian refugees coming down the road from the north. They could not be admitted into the perimeter because of the probability that the Chinese had infiltrated them.

*Task Force Dog included these self-propelled 155mm howitzers shown in firing position covering Funchilin Pass on 10 December near Chinhung-ni. Marine 155mm howitzers at this time were still tractor-drawn and some were lost coming out of Yudam-ni. At a greater distance an Army tank can be glimpsed.*

Photo by TSgt James W. Helms, Jr., Department of Defense Photo (USMC) A156320



During the bitterly cold night, two babies were born with the help of Navy doctors and corpsmen. In all their misery these thousands of civilians had to wait outside the lines until Koto-ri was vacated. They then followed behind the Marines, as best they could, until the presumed safety of Hamhung-Hungnam might be reached.

During the day Smith, always conscious of his dead, attended a funeral at Koto-ri. What had been an artillery command post, scraped more deeply into the frozen ground by a bulldozer, became a mass grave. A total of 117 bodies, mostly Marines but some soldiers and Royal Marines, were lowered into the hole. A Protestant and a Catholic chaplain officiated. The bulldozer covered the bodies with a mound of dirt.

Sergeant Robert Gault, head of the Graves Registration Section of the 7th Marines, remembered the funeral this way:

We had a chaplain of each faith, and the fellows had made a big hole and laid the fellows out in rows the best





Photo by Cpl James Lyle, National Archives Photo (USA) 111-SC354456

*A squad-sized Army patrol, led by Sgt Grant J. Miller, from the 3d Infantry Division's Task Force Dog, moves up from Chinhung-ni into Funchilin Pass on 9 December. The tank at the side of the road appears to be a Soviet-built T-34 knocked out a month earlier by the 7th Marines.*

we could and put ponchos over them. As soon as each chaplain had said his little bit for the fellows, we would cover them up and close them in. Everyone was given—I think under the circumstances—a very fine burial. It wasn't like the one back at Inchon and Hungnam. It wasn't like the one where we had crosses for the boys painted white and all the preliminaries: flowers that we could get for them—we'd go out and pick them. It wasn't like that, no. It was one where we were just out in a field, but it was one with more true heart.

There was more snow during the night, but Saturday, 9 December, dawned bright, clear, and cold. South of Funchilin Pass, Noren moved his Baker Company to the next high ground to his front and Barrow had his Able Company test-fire their weapons before beginning the assault of Hill 1081. Barrow then attacked in a column of platoons behind a thunderous preparation by close air, artillery, and mortars. Even so

his lead platoon, under First Lieutenant William A. McClelland, was hard hit as it moved forward by rushes, stopping about 200 yards from the crest. Under cover of air strikes by four Corsairs and his own 60mm mortars, Barrow moved his 2d and 3d Platoons forward and by mid-afternoon his Marines had the hill. The two-day battle cost Barrow almost exactly half his company. He had started up the hill with 223 Marines; he was now down to 111 effectives. But 530 enemy dead were counted and the Marines held the high ground commanding Funchilin Pass.

On the MSR that Saturday, moving south from Koto-ri, the 7th Marines resumed its attack. The rest of Hill 1304 was taken. Captain John Morris with his Company C and a platoon from Company B moved down the road and secured the bridge site. The rest of Company B, following behind, overran an enemy position garrisoned by 50 Chinese so frozen by the cold that they surrendered without resistance.

The old war horse, General Shepherd, arrived from Hawaii the day before on what was his fifth trip

to Korea, this time as "Representative of Commander Naval Force, Far East, on matters relating to the Marine Corps and for consultation and advice in connection with the contemplated amphibious operations now being planned." Shepherd may have thought he had more authority than he really had. In his 1967 oral history he said:

When reports came back that the cold weather had set in and they weren't able to make the Yalu River and things began falling apart, Admiral Radford sent me to Korea—I think [the orders] came from the Chief of Naval Operations on the recommendation of Admiral Joy—that [I] was to take charge of the evacuation of the Marines from Hungnam.

More accurately, the Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Forrest P. Sherman, had probably been prompted by back-channel messages to Admiral Radford to send Shepherd to the Far East "for the purpose of advising and assisting Commander Naval Forces, Far East [Admiral Joy], with particular emphasis on Marine Corps matters."

Shepherd did recognize that there could be a conflict of command because of Almond's actual command of X Corps. On arriving in Tokyo on 6 December he met with General MacArthur and noted "General MacArthur was unqualified in his admiration and praise for the effective contribution which Marines had made throughout the whole of the Korea fighting. His general demeanor [however] was not one of optimism."

After more conferences and meetings in Tokyo, Shepherd left on 8 December for Hungnam and on



Photo by Sgt Frank C. Kerr, Department of Defense Photo (USMC) A5370

*Litzenberg's 7th Marines led the way out of Koto-ri at dawn on 8 December. Murray's 5th Marines followed the 7th Marines and in turn was followed by two battalions of Puller's 1st Marines. Infantry units, moving from hilltop to hilltop on both sides of the road covered the movement of the division trains. Some called the maneuver "hop-scotch," others called it "skinning-the-cat."*

arrival went immediately to the Mount McKinley. Here on the next day he attended a meeting on out-loading and naval support also attended by Admirals Joy, Struble, and Doyle, and General Harris. A press conference followed. Shepherd praised the operations of the X Corps and said that he

was there to assist General Almond. He was anxious to get up to the reservoir to see things for himself. He made the trip in a TBM, landing at Koto-ri after circling Hagaru-ri. He then met with Smith for an hour or more. Smith told him that all casualties would be out by the end of the day.

*As the march went on, cold-benumbed Chinese soldiers surrendered in increasing numbers. This group, probably the remnants of a platoon or perhaps a company, surrendered to Company C, 1st Battalion, 7th Marines, south of Koto-ri on 9 December.*

Photo by Sgt Frank C. Kerr, National Archives Photo (USMC) 127-N-A5377



Shepherd announced that he intended to march out with the division. Smith dug in his heels and said absolutely not.

Shepherd returned to the airstrip. A number of war correspondents, among them "Maggie" Higgins, Keyes Beach, and the photographer David Douglas Duncan, had wangled their way to Koto-ri. While Shepherd's plane was warming up, Colonel Puller arrived leading Higgins by the hand. Puller said: "General Smith says take this woman out of his hair and see that she goes out on your plane." Shepherd turned to Higgins, whom he had met at Inchon, saying, "Maggie, it's too bad. I wanted to march down too." The plane completed its loading of wounded and taxied to the end of the strip. It was dusk and as the plane took off Shepherd could see machine gun tracer bullets reaching up at the underside of

*Two Chinese, anxious to surrender, get a quick pat-down search for weapons by members of Company C, 7th Marines, but there was no fight left in them. Once given a cigarette and perhaps a chocolate bar by their captors, they would follow along uncomplainingly into eventual captivity.*

National Archives Photo (USMC) 127-N-A5378





Photo by Cpl Peter W. McDonald, National Archives Photo (USMC) 127-N-A5379

*First step in evacuation of casualties, alive or dead, during the march-out was to get them down to the road by stretcher. Here four Marines, without helmets or packs, carry a stretcher down from the high ground somewhere south of Koto-ri on 9 December. Fresh snow had fallen the previous night.*

the plane. Leaning over to Higgins, the irrepressible Shepherd said to her, "If we get hit, we will die in each other's arms."

### From Koto-ri to Chinhung-ni

The column of division vehicles, protected on both sides by the Marine infantry in the hills, crawled along the road south of Koto-ri at a snail's pace and with frequent stops. The Marines, who watched the crawling column from their perches in the hills, wondered profanely why the vehicles had to be piled high with tent frames, wooden doors, and other luxuries of life.

Partridge had held back the Army's Brockway trucks, with their precious cargo of bridge sections, in Koto-ri until first light on 9 December when he considered the MSR secure enough for him to move them forward. He then joined Sawyer's 1st Battalion at the head of the column. Everything worked at the bridge site like a practiced jigsaw puzzle. Army and Marine engineers rebuilt the abutments with sandbags and timbers.

A Brockway truck laid the steel treadways and plywood deck panels. At noon, Almond flew overhead in his "Blue Goose" to see for himself that things were going

well. Installation was done in three hours and at 1530 Partridge drove his jeep back to the top of the pass to tell Lieutenant Colonel Banks that he could bring Division Train No. 1 down the defile. The first vehicles began to cross the bridge at about 1800. Sawyer's Marines kept the enemy at a distance and captured 60 prisoners in the process. All night long vehicles passed over the bridge.

At 0245 on Sunday morning, 10 December, the head of the column reached Chinhung-ni. Colonel Snedeker, the division's deputy chief of staff, had positioned himself there to direct the further movement of the vehicle serials. The 7th Marines followed Division Train No. 1 down the pass. Up on the plateau Ridge's 3d Battalion, 1st Marines, had come out of Koto-ri and relieved the 3d Battalion, 7th Marines, on Hill 1328 where it had a fight with

*Frozen corpses are unloaded from a truck at Koto-ri where they will be buried in a mass grave. A 155mm howitzer can be seen in the background. The dead, 117 of them, mostly U.S. Marines but some soldiers and Royal Marines, were interred in a hole originally bull-dozed into the ground to serve as an artillery fire direction center.*

Photo by Sgt Frank C. Kerr, National Archives Photo (USMC) 127-N-A5366







National Archives Photo (USMC) 127-N-A402841

*LtGen Shepherd, right, Commanding General, Fleet Marine Force, Pacific, arrived on 8 December on his fifth trip to Korea. Although not in the operational chain-of-command, he had arrived to oversee the evacuation of the Marines. RAdm Doyle, left, and MajGen Harris, center, greet Shepherd. All three look glum.*

about 350 resurgent Chinese. At 1030, General Smith closed his command post at Koto-ri and flew to his rear command post at Hungnam.

Puller brought out the remainder of RCT-1 from Koto-ri on the afternoon of the 10th. Milne's tanks, including the tank company from the 31st Infantry, followed behind the elements of RCT-1 on the road. Ridge's 3d Battalion was already deployed on the high ground on both sides of the MSR south of Koto-ri. The plan was for Sutter's 2d Battalion to relieve Stevens' 1st Battalion, 5th Marines, on Hill 1457.

As the last Americans left Koto-ri, the Army's 92d Field Artillery, firing from Chinhung-ni, shelled the town with its long-range 155mm guns. There was confusion at the tail of the column as Korean refugees pressed close. The tankers fired warning shots to make them stay back. Panic developed as the rumor spread that the Marines were shooting the re-

fugees. The tanks passed on down the road, protected on both sides at first by Ridge's Marines in the hills. But Sutter, having begun his climb up Hill 1457 and finding it a long way off and with no enemy in sight, asked Puller's permission, which he received, to return to the road.

Ridge pulled his companies off Hill 1304 and the high ground on the opposite side of the MSR at about 2100. Ridge's battalion was the last major unit to descend the pass, following behind Jones' provisional battalion of soldiers and the detachment of the 185th Engineers. Harry Milne's tanks were behind Ridge with no infantry protection except the lightweight division Reconnaissance Company mounted in jeeps. It was now about midnight.

By then both division trains, all of RCT-7, and most of the 11th Marines had reached Chinhung-ni. The 5th Marines followed the 7th Marines. Beyond Chinhung-ni, guerrillas were reported to be

active in the vicinity of Sudong, but the division trains and both the 5th and 7th Marines passed through without interference. Some time after midnight when the vehicles of RCT-1 reached the town sudden swarms of Chinese came out of the houses of the village with burp guns and grenades. Truck drivers and casualties, both Army and Marine, fought a wild, shapeless action. Lieutenant Colonel John U. D. Page, an Army artillery officer, took charge, was killed, and received a posthumous Medal of Honor. Lieutenant Colonel Waldon C. Winston, an Army motor transport officer, took his place. It was dawn before the place was cleaned up. RCT-1 lost nine trucks and a personnel carrier; 8 men killed and 21 wounded.

Meanwhile, Milne's tanks, some 40 of them, descending the narrow, icy-slick road of Funchilin Pass had run into trouble. About a mile short of the Treadway bridge the brakes of the ninth tank from the end of the column froze up. The tanks to its front clanked on, but the immobile ninth tank blocked the eight tanks to the rear. Close behind came the refugees. Left guarding the nine tanks was First Lieutenant Ernest C. Hargett's 28-man reconnaissance platoon. Five Chinese soldiers emerged from the mass of refugees and one, in English, called upon Hargett to surrender. Hargett, covered by a BAR-man, approached the five Chinese cautiously. The English-speaking one stepped aside and the four others produced burp guns and grenades. A grenade wounded Hargett. His BAR-man, Corporal George A. J. Amyotte, cut the five Chinese down, but more Chinese materialized on the road and the steep slope of the hill. Hargett backed away with his platoon. The last tank in the column was lost to the



Department of Defense Photo (USMC) A5376

*The Chinese had blown a critical bridge halfway down Funchilin Pass where water flowed downward from Changjin Reservoir and passed through four giant pipes called "penstocks." As early as 4 December, MajGen Smith knew that this 24-foot gap would have to be bridged if his vehicles were to reach Hungnam.*

*Marines from Litzenberg's regiment, along with some attached soldiers, on 9 December reached the blown bridge in Funchilin Pass, which, unless replaced, would stop any*

*further southward movement of wheeled or tracked vehicles. Plans were already afoot to bridge the gap with a Treadway bridge to be airdropped in sections at Koto-ri.*

Photo by Sgt Frank C. Kerr, Department of Defense Photo (USMC) A5375



Chinese. Meanwhile, the crew of the tank that blocked the road had succeeded in freeing the frozen brakes and was ready to proceed. But the crews of the remaining seven tanks had departed, leaving the hatches of their tanks open. A member of Hargett's platoon, who had never driven a tank, managed to bring out one tank. The night's adventure cost Hargett two men killed and 12 wounded.

Engineers were waiting at the Treadway bridge, ready to blow it up. They thought the two tanks and Hargett's platoon were the last to come by. They blew the bridge, but one Marine had been left behind. Private First Class Robert D. DeMott from Hargett's platoon had been blown off the road by a Chinese explosive charge. Regaining consciousness, he got back on the road and joined the refugees.



Photo by Sgt William R. Keating, Department of Defense Photo (USMC) A5408

*By evening on 9 December the Treadway bridge was in place and men and vehicles could move unimpeded down the MSR through Funchilin Pass. From here on enemy resis-*

*tance was limited to small-scale firefights and ambushes. The most sizable resistance would come near Sudong.*

*The wind that blew from Manchuria and beyond, "down over the Yalu and the mountains all around. . . down into the gorges with their frozen streams and naked rocks. . . down along the ice-capped road—now shrieking and wild—that*

*wind," said noted photographer David Douglas Duncan, "was like nothing ever known by the trapped Marines, yet they had to march through it."*

Photo by David Douglas Duncan







*Marines march along a particularly precipitous portion of the road winding down through Funchilin Pass on 9 December. The day before had seen the launching of an exquisitely timed maneuver—the exit of the 5th and 7th*

*Photo by Sgt Frank C. Kerr, Department of Defense Photo (USMC) A5372*  
*Marines from Koto-ri and the simultaneous advance of the 1st Battalion, 1st Marines, from Chinhung-ni to take the high ground controlling the pass.*

He heard the detonation that blew the bridge, but figured that he could make his way on foot through the gatehouse above the penstocks. This he did as did many of the following refugees.

*Coming down Funchilin Pass on 10 December, the Marine column was intermixed with many Korean refugees fleeing the Chinese. Numbers were such as to interfere with military traffic. Behind them, Yudam-ni, Hagaru-ri, and Koto-ri were left as deserted ghost towns.*

*Photo by Sgt William R. Keating, National Archives Photo (USMC) 127-N-A5407*

### Warm Welcome at Hungnam

Donald Schmuck, from his position on Hill 1081, watched the lights of the tanks descending the pass and at 0300 gave orders for Barrow's Company A to begin its withdrawal. At 1300 on 11 December the last units of the division passed through Chinhung-ni. By 1730 they had gone through Majon-dong and by 2100 most had reached their Hamhung-Hungnam assembly areas. They found a tent camp waiting for them. Lieutenant Colonel Erwin F. Wann, Jr.'s 1st Amphibian Tractor





National Archives Photo (USMC) 127-N-A5901

*LtCol John H. Partridge, whose engineers performed miracles, particularly in scraping out the airstrip at Hagaru-ri and installing the airdropped Treadway bridge in Funchilin Pass, received a second Bronze Star from MajGen Smith at Masan in early January 1951.*

Battalion had done much of the preparation for their arrival. Chow lines were open for the continuous serving of hot meals. Wann, 31 and Naval Academy 1940, had been an amphibian tractor officer at Bougainville, Guam, and Iwo Jima. The weather seemed almost balmy after the unrelieved sub-zero temperatures of the plateau. Milne's tanks continued on to the LST staging area, arriving just before midnight. From 8 through 11 December, the division had lost 75 men dead, 16 missing, and 256 wounded, for a total of 347 casualties.

As late as Saturday, 9 December, General Smith believed that the 1st Marine Division, once concentrated, would be given a defensive sector to the south and southwest of Hungnam. A day earlier his deputy chief of staff, Colonel Snedeker, who was running his rear headquarters, issued tentative orders for Puller's RCT-1 to

organize defensively at Chigyong, with Murray's RCT-5 and Litzenberg's RCT-7 preparing to defend Yonpo airfield.

But on that Saturday, Almond received his formal orders from MacArthur to redeploy X Corps to South Korea and Smith learned that his division would be loading out immediately on arrival. At this point Almond regarded the 1st Marine Division as only marginally combat effective. He considered the 7th Infantry Division, except for its loss of almost a complete regimental combat team, to be in better condition. In best condition, in his opinion, was the 3d Infantry Division, which he visited almost daily.

Almond therefore decided that once the 1st Marine Division passed through the Hamhung-Hungnam perimeter defense it would be relieved from active combat and evacuated. Second priority for evacuation would be

given the 7th Infantry Division. Last out would be the 3d Infantry Division.

The Hungnam-Hamhung defensive perimeter, as neatly drawn on the situation maps in Almond's headquarters, consisted of a main line of resistance (MLR) about 20 miles long arcing in a semicircle from north of Hungnam around to include Yonpo. In front of the MLR was a lightly held outpost line of resistance. The northernmost sector, beginning at the coastline, was given to Major General Kim Pak Il's ROK I Corps, which, having arrived uneventfully from Songjin, began moving into line on 8 December. The lift-off from Songjin by LSTs, merchant ships, and the attack transport USS *Noble* (APA 218) had been completed in three days. Counterclockwise, next in line on the perimeter, came Barr's 7th Infantry Division with two sound regiments, followed by Soule's 3d Infantry Division. The southern anchor of the perimeter was held by the 1st Korean Marine Corps Regiment, which had the mission of defend-

*LtCol Harry T. Milne, commanding officer of the 1st Tank Battalion, in a post-war photograph. Tanks were vital to the Marine breakout, but their record was marred by poor performance with Task Force Drysdale and, later, in Funchilin Pass.*

National Archives Photo (USMC) 127-N-A552011







Photo by Sgt William R. Keating, National Archives Photo (USMC) 127-N-A5404

*Once the high ground commanding Funchilin Pass had been taken and the Treadway bridge was in place, the 1st Marine Division could descend almost unimpeded to the sea. All day long on 10 December Marine troops marched down the pass until they reached first Chinhung-ni and then went beyond Sudong-ni where they took trucks to Hambung.*

ing the Yonpo airfield. As the evacuation progressed, the MLR was to shrink back to successive phase lines.

Admiral Doyle, as commander, Task Force 90, assumed control of all naval functions on 10 December. Marine Colonel Edward Forney, a X Corps deputy chief of staff whose principal duties were to advise Almond on the use of Marine and Navy forces, was now designated as the Corps' evacuation control officer. The Army's 2d Engineer Special Brigade would be responsible for operating the dock facilities and traffic control. A group of experienced Japanese dock workers arrived to supplement their efforts,

Years later Almond characterized Forney's performance as follows: "I would say that the success of [the evacuation] was due 98 percent to common sense and judgment and that this common sense and judgment being practiced by all concerned was turned over to General Forney who orga-

nized the activities in fine form. I mean Colonel Forney, he should have been a *General!*"

General Field Harris briefed General Shepherd on 10 December

on the status of the 1st Marine Aircraft Wing. Ashore were Marine fighter squadrons -312, -542, -513, and -311. Afloat were VMF-212 in the *Bataan*, VMF-214 in the *Sicily*, and VMF-323 in the *Badoeng Strait*. Shepherd learned that the wing had been offered either the K-10 airfield near Masan or K-1 near Pusan. K-1 was preferable because it was the better field and close to Pusan's port facilities.

The 11th of December was a busy day. X Corps issued its Operation Order 10-50, calling for the immediate embarkation of the 1st Marine Division. The perimeter would shrink progressively as then the 7th and 3d Infantry Divisions, in turn, were withdrawn. As the perimeter contracted, naval gunfire and air support would increase to defend the remaining beachhead. General MacArthur himself arrived that day at Yonpo, met with Almond, and approved the X Corps evacuation plan. He told Almond that he could return to  
(Continued on page 118)

*A Marine, left, and a Korean soldier, right, check the meager baggage of a Korean family on 10 December at some point east of Chinhung-ni before allowing the family to proceed to Hungnam. Some 91,000 refugees, driven by hunger, the cold, and fear of the Chinese, would be evacuated.*

Photo by Cpl James Lyles, National Archives Photo (USA) 111-SC354459





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## Medals of Honor

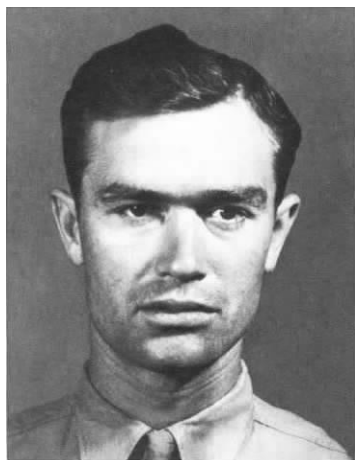
*The Medal of Honor, the Nation's highest award for valor, has been given to 294 Marines since its inception in 1862. The Korean War saw 42 Marines so honored. Of this number, 14 awards were made for actions incident to the Chosin Reservoir campaign. Seven of these awards were posthumous.*



### Staff Sergeant Archie Van Winkle

Staff Sergeant Archie Van Winkle, 25, of Juneau, Alaska, and Darrington, Washington, a platoon sergeant in Company B, 1st Battalion, 7th Marines, awarded the Medal of Honor for gallantry and intrepidity in action on 2

November 1950 near Sudong wherein he led a successful attack by his platoon in spite of a bullet that shattered his arm and a grenade that exploded against his chest.



### Sergeant James I. Poynter

Sergeant James I. Poynter, 33, of Downey, California, a squad leader with Company A, 1st Battalion, 7th Marines, posthumously awarded the Medal of Honor for his actions on 4 November south of Sudong,

where, although already critically wounded, he assaulted three enemy machine gun positions with hand grenades, killing the crews of two and putting the third out of action before falling mortally wounded.

## Corporal Lee H. Phillips

Corporal Lee H. Phillips, 20, of Ben Hill, Georgia, a squad leader with Company E, 2d Battalion, 7th Marines, posthumously awarded the Medal of Honor for actions on 4 November 1950 near Sudong where he led his squad in

a costly but successful bayonet charge against a numerically superior enemy. Corporal Phillips was subsequently killed in action on 27 November 1950 at Yudam-ni.



## Second Lieutenant Robert D. Reem

Second Lieutenant Robert D. Reem, 26, of Elizabethtown, Pennsylvania, a platoon leader in Company H, 3d Battalion, 7th Marines, posthumously awarded the Medal of Honor for actions

on 6 November 1950 near Chinhung-ni. Leading his platoon in the assault of a heavily fortified Chinese position, he threw himself upon an enemy grenade, sacrificing his life to save his men.



## First Lieutenant Frank N. Mitchell

First Lieutenant Frank N. Mitchell, 29, of Indian Gap, Texas, a member of Company A, 1st Battalion, 7th Marines, posthumously awarded the Medal of Honor for extraordinary heroism in waging a

single-handed battle against the enemy on 26 November 1950 near Yudam-ni to cover the withdrawal of wounded Marines, notwithstanding multiple wounds to himself.



## Staff Sergeant Robert S. Kennemore

Staff Sergeant Robert S. Kennemore, 30, of Greenville, South Carolina, a machine gun section leader with Company E, 2d Battalion, 7th Marines, awarded the Medal of Honor for extraordi-

nary heroism during the night of 27-28 November 1950 north of Yudam-ni in deliberately covering an enemy grenade whose explosion cost him both of his legs.





### Private Hector A. Cafferata, Jr.

Private Hector A. Cafferata, Jr., 21, born in New York City, a rifleman with Company F, 2d Battalion, 7th Marines, awarded the Medal of Honor for his stout-

hearted defense on 28 November 1950 of his position at Toktong Pass despite his repeated grievous wounds.



### Captain William E. Barber

Captain William E. Barber, 31, of Dehart, Kentucky, commanding officer of Company F, 2d Battalion, 7th Marines, awarded

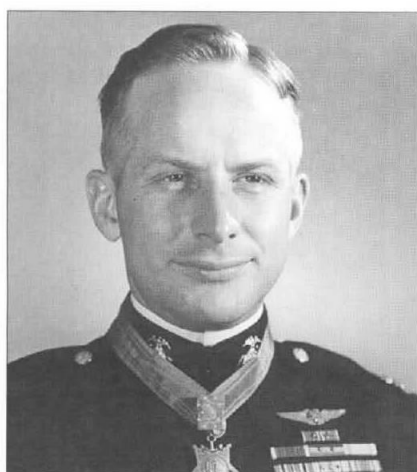
the Medal of Honor for his intrepid defense of Toktong Pass from 28 November to 2 December in spite of his own severe wounds.



### Private First Class William B. Baugh

Private First Class William B. Baugh, 20, born in McKinney, Kentucky, a member of the Anti-Tank Assault Platoon, Weapons Company, 3d Battalion, 1st Marines, posthumously awarded the Medal of Honor for covering

with his body an enemy grenade thrown into the truck in which his squad was moving from Koto-ri to Hagaru-ri on the night of 29 November 1950 as part of Task Force Drysdale.



### Major Reginald R. Myers

Major Reginald R. Myers, 31, of Boise, Idaho, executive officer of the 3d Battalion, 1st Marines, awarded the Medal of Honor for leading a hastily organized provi-

sional company of soldiers and Marines in the critical assault of East Hill at Hagaru-ri on 29 November 1950.



## Captain Carl L. Sitter

Captain Carl L. Sitter, 28, born in Syracuse, Missouri, commanding officer of Company G, 3d Battalion, 1st Marines, awarded the Medal of Honor for his valiant leadership in bringing his compa-

ny from Koto-ri to Hagaru-ri as part of Task Force Drysdale on 29 November. He then led it in the continued assault of vital East Hill on 30 November 1950.



## Staff Sergeant William G. Windrich

Staff Sergeant William G. Windrich, 29, born in Chicago, Illinois, a platoon sergeant with Company I, 3d Battalion, 5th Marines, posthumously awarded the Medal of Honor for his extra-

ordinary bravery in taking and then holding a critical position near Yudam-ni on 29 November despite two serious wounds which eventually caused his death.



## Lieutenant Colonel Raymond G. Davis

Lieutenant Colonel Raymond G. Davis, 35, of Atlanta, Georgia, commanding officer of the 1st Battalion, 7th Marines, awarded the Medal of Honor for his conspicuous gallantry and skill in

leading his battalion, from 1 to 4 December 1950, across mountainous and frigid terrain to come to the relief of the beleaguered company holding Toktong Pass.



## Sergeant James E. Johnson

Sergeant James E. Johnson, 24, of Washington, D.C. and Pocatello, Idaho, regularly a member of the 11th Marines but serving as a platoon sergeant of a provisional rifle platoon attached to the 3d Battalion, 7th Marines, posthu-

mously awarded the Medal of Honor for continuing to engage the enemy single-handedly in hand-to-hand combat on 2 December south of Yudam-ni after being severely wounded.

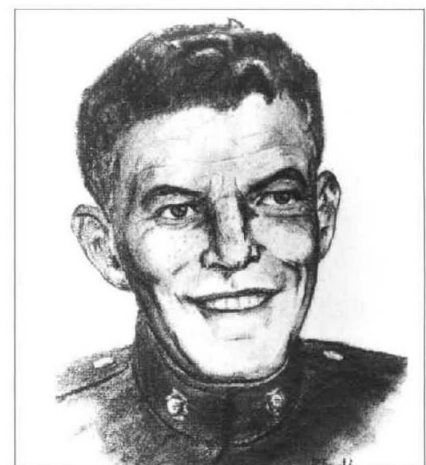




Photo by Sgt Frank C. Kerr, National Archives Photo (USMC) 127-N-A5754

*LtCol Murray's 5th Marines found a tent camp waiting for them when they arrived at Hungnam after the long march. Much of the camp was the work of the 1st Amphibian Tractor Battalion. Although there was still snow on the ground, the weather at Hungnam was mild in comparison with the sub-zero temperatures of the Changjin plateau.*

GHQ and pick up his duties as MacArthur's chief of staff or he could remain in command of X Corps. Almond replied that he wished to stay with X Corps even if it became part of Eighth Army. The 27th of December was set as the day that X Corps would pass to Eighth Army control.

The evacuation of the 1st Marine Division began with the loading-out of the 7th Marines in the MSTS *Daniel I. Sultan*. The 5th Marines would follow on the 12th and the 1st Marines on the 13th. It was anticipated that the ships would have to make a second, even a third turn-around, to lift the entire division. The docks could berth only seven ships at a time. To compensate, there would be some double berthing, but most of the passengers would have to load out in the stream. Approximately 1,400 vehicles had been brought down from the Chosin plateau, about the same number as had gone up, but now some of the complement bore U.S. Army markings. Most of the division's vehicles would go out in LSTs. Green Beaches One

and Two could handle 11 LSTs simultaneously. Thankfully there was no great tide to contend with, only one foot as compared to Inchon's 30.

### Marine Close Air Support at Its Finest

The Marines' ground control intercept squadron, MGCIS-1,

*MajGen Almond gave his Marine deputy chief of staff, Col Edward H. Forney, much of the credit for the orderly departure of X Corps from Hungnam. Here, on 14 December, he presents Forney with a Legion of Merit.*

National Archives Photo (USA) 111-SC355068



Major Harold E. Allen commanding, shut down at Yonpo on the 11th, passing control of air defense of the perimeter to the *Mount McKinley*. The sky remained empty of enemy aircraft. Overall air control stayed with MTACS-2, the Marines' tactical air control squadron, under Major Christian C. Lee. Each of the infantry battalions had gone into the Chosin campaign with two forward air controllers assigned, most of them reserves, all of them qualified Marine aviators. They brought with them both expertise in close air support and rapport with the fighter-bombers overhead. Although inclined to lament not having a cockpit assignment they realized they were providing an unmatched link to the air. They knew how to talk a pilot onto a target.

Between 1 and 11 December, Marine aviators, ashore and afloat, flew more than 1,300 sorties in support of their comrades on the ground. Of these, 254 were flown from the *Badoeng Strait* and 122 from the late-arriving *Sicily*. (Lundin's Blacksheep squadron, still at Wonsan, reembarked in the



Photo by Sgt Jack T. McKirk, National Archives Photo (USA) 111-SC354464

*MajGen Almond, left, always generous with medals and commendations, on 11 December congratulates bareheaded BGen Armistead D. Mead, commander of Task Force Dog, on keeping the MSR open from Chinhung-ni to Hambung. Few Marines were aware of this Army contribution to their march back from Chosin.*

*Sicily* on 7 December.) The rest had been by the shore-based squadrons at Wonsan and Yonpo. The first Marine jet squadron to arrive in Korea, VMF-311, with McDonnell F9F Panther jets, Lieutenant Colonel Neil R. McIntyre commanding, had arrived at Yonpo on 10 December and managed to fly four days of interdiction missions before moving back to Pusan to aid the Fifth Air Force in its support of the Eighth Army.

Flight conditions both ashore at Yonpo and afloat in the carriers were hellish—in the air, poor charts, minimal navigational aids, and capricious radios; at Yonpo, primitive conditions and icy runways; and, afloat, ice-glazed decks and tumultuous seas for the carrier-based aircraft. The *Badoeng Strait* reported scraping off three inches

of ice and snow from the flight deck. The *Sicily* at one point had to stop flight operations for VMF-214's Blacksheep in the face of heavy seas and 68-knot winds. Planes were lost. Three night fighters went down. There were other crashes. It was estimated that a pilot who had to ditch at sea in the arctic waters had only 20 minutes before fatal hypothermia. Two VMF-212 pilots from Yonpo, out of gas, managed to save themselves and their planes by landing on the *Badoeng Strait*. By strenuous effort on the part of all hands, aircraft availability at Yonpo hovered around 67 percent and a remarkable 90 percent on board the carriers. About half the missions flown were not for the Marines but for someone else. Statistics kept by the wing reported a total of 3,703 sorties in 1,053 missions controlled by tactical air control parties being flown between 26 October and 11 December. Of these missions, 599 were close support—468 for the 1st Marine Division, 67 for the

*Gen MacArthur made one of his quick trips to Korea on 11 December, this time to Yonpo Airfield to meet with MajGen Almond and approve the X Corps evacuation plan. MacArthur is in his trademark peaked cap and Almond is in a bombardier's leather jacket. No one would mistake the accompanying staff officers, with their well-fed jowls, for combat soldiers.*

National Archives Photo (USA) 111-SC3544110







Photo by SSgt Ed Barnum, Department of Defense Photo (USMC) A130426

*Marine crewmen check the loading of rockets on the rails of an F-4U Corsair flying from Yonpo Airfield early in December. Despite minimum facilities and terrible weather, the hard-working crews maintained an availability rate of 67 percent for aircraft flying from Yonpo.*

ROKs, 56 for the 7th Infantry Division, and 8 for the 3d Infantry Division. Eight Marine pilots were killed or died of wounds, three were wounded, and four were missing in action.

Marine transports—twin-engine R4Ds and four-engine R5Ds from VMR-152, commanded by 44-year-old Colonel Deane C. Roberts—supplemented General Tunner's Combat Cargo Command in its aerial resupply and casualty evacuation from Hagaru-ri.

The squadron that the 1st Marine Division considered its own private air force, Major Gottschalk's VMO-6, with 10 light fixed-wing aircraft and nine helicopters, racked up 1,544 flights between 28 October and 15 December. Of these 457 had been reconnaissance, 220 casualty evacuation, and 11 search-and-rescue.

### Time To Leave

Wonsan closed as a port on Sunday, 10 December. Outloading for the evacuation, conducted from 2 to 10 December, was under Lieutenant Colonel Henry "Jim" Crowe with muscle provided by his 1st Shore Party Battalion. The attached Company A, 1st Amphibian Truck Battalion, found employment for its DUKWs

(amphibian trucks) in shuttling back and forth between docks and ships. In the nine-day period, 3,834 troops (mostly Army), 7,009 Korean civilians, 1,146 vehicles, and 10,013 tons of bulk cargo were evacuated. Defense of the immediate harbor area was shared with two battalions of South Korean Marines and a battalion from the 3d Infantry Division.

General Craig, Smith's sorely missed assistant division commander, returned from emergency

leave on the 11th. Marines were left to wonder what his tactical role might have been if he had come back earlier. Smith sent him south to Pusan to arrange for the division's arrival. "I took 35 people of various categories with me and left for Masan," said Craig years later. "[I] conferred with the Army commander there about replacement of enormous losses of equipment of various kinds. He assured me that he would open his store-rooms to us and give us anything we required that was in his stock. And this he did."

On Tuesday evening, 12 December, General Almond called his generals together for a conference and a dinner at X Corps headquarters. The division commanders—Smith, Barr, and Soule—listened without comment to a briefing on the evacuation plan. They then learned that the true purpose of the dinner was Almond's 58th birthday. General Ruffner, Almond's chief of staff, eulogized his commander, saying, in effect, that never in the history of

*Nerve center for the tactical air support of X Corps was the 1st Marine Aircraft Wing's Tactical Air Control Center at Hambung. After the last of the Marine squadrons departed Yonpo on 14 December, control of air operations passed to Navy air controllers on the command ship Mount McKinley (AGC 7).*

Photo by SSgt Ed Barnum, National Archives Photo (USMC) 127-N-A130453





National Archives Photo (USN) 80-G-422892

*Wings folded, Marine F-4U Corsairs wait on the ice-glazed deck of the escort carrier Badoeng Strait (CVE 116). As much as three inches of ice had to be scraped from the flight deck. A remarkable aircraft availability rate of 90*

*percent was maintained on board the carriers. Only half the missions were in support of the Marines. The rest went to the Army and South Koreans.*

the U.S. Army had a corps in such a short time done so much. General Almond replied and General Shepherd added a few complimentary remarks. Earlier Almond had asked Smith if he thought it feasible to disinter the dead buried at Hungnam. Smith did not think it feasible.

Interdiction fires by Army artillery, deep support by naval gunfire, and air interdiction bombing by Air Force, Navy, and Marine aircraft provided a thunderous background of noise for the loading operations. By 13 December the 5th and 7th Marines were loaded and ready to sail. At 1500, General Smith closed his division command post ashore and moved it to the *Bayfield* (APA 33). Before departing Hungnam, Smith paused at the cemetery to join a memorial service for the dead. Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish chaplains officiated. Volleys were fired and taps sounded. Meanwhile, the 3d

and 7th Infantry Divisions had nothing to report except light probing of their lines and minor patrol actions.

The loading of the Marines and attached Army elements was completed on the 14th. That day saw the last of the Marine land-based fighter-bombers depart Yonpo for Japan. Shortly after midnight the air defense section of MTACS-2 passed control of all air to the Navy's Tactical Air Control Squadron One on board the *Mount McKinley*, but, just to be sure, a standby Marine tactical air control center was set up on an LST and maintained until the day before Christmas.

The *Bayfield*, an attack transport and the veteran of many landings, with General Smith embarked, lifted her hook and sailed at 1030 on 15 December. The ship had been experimenting with C-rations, but with the embarkation of the Marines she

*In a landing exercise in reverse, Marines in an LCM landing craft head for a transport waiting for them in Hungnam harbor. The docks could only berth seven ships at a time, so most soldier and Marines had to load out in the stream. Collecting enough ships, both U.S. Navy and Merchant Marine, for the evacuation was a monumental effort.*

National Archives Photo (USN) 80-G-424506





Department of Defense Photo (USA) SC355243  
*These members of the 5th Marines move by way of a cargo net from an LCM landing craft into a side hatch of the transport that would take them to the southern tip of the Korean peninsula. Loading out of the regiment was essentially accomplished in one day, 12 December. Destination was the "Bean Patch" at Masan.*

returned to a more appetizing Navy diet. A total of 22,215 Marines had boarded an assemblage of 4 transports, 16 landing ships, an assault cargo ship, and 7 merchant ships. General Shepherd, with his Marines safely embarked, left Hungnam the same day for Hawaii by way of Tokyo. Just before leaving Hungnam he attended a ceremony at which General Almond presented a Distinguished Service Cross to General Barr.

A day's steaming on board the jam-packed ships took the Marines to Pusan. They landed at Pusan and motor-marched to the "bean patch" at Masan where a tent camp was being set up. Smith moved into a Japanese-style house. "The toilet works, but the radiators are not yet in operation," he noted.

The Commandant reported to the Secretary of the Navy 4,418

Marine casualties for the period 26 October to 15 December. Of these, 718 were killed or died of wounds, 3,508 wounded, and 192 missing in action. In addition, there were 7,313 non-battle casualties, mostly frostbite. Roughly speaking, these non-battle casualties added up to a third of the strength of the division. (From 26 November until 11 December, Commander Howard A. Johnson's 1st Medical Battalion had treated 7,350 casualties of all categories.) The three infantry regiments had absorbed the lion's share of the casualties and arrived at the Bean Patch at about 50 percent strength. Some rifle companies had as little as 25 or 30 percent of their authorized allowance.

### Chinese Casualties

Captured documents and prisoner interrogations confirmed that the Marines had fought at least nine and possibly all 12 CCF divisions. These divisions can be assumed to have each entered combat at an effective strength of about 7,500—perhaps 90,000 men in all. Other estimates of Chinese

strength go as high as 100,000 or more. Peng's chief of staff said, it will be remembered, that the *Ninth Army Group* had started across the Yalu with 150,000 troops, but not all of these had come against the 1st Marine Division. The Marines could only guess at the casualties they had inflicted. The estimates came in at 15,000 killed and 7,500 wounded by the ground forces and an additional 10,000 killed and 5,000 wounded by Marine air.

Still waiting in the surrounding hills above Hamhung, Sung Shilun's *Ninth Army Group*—assuming non-combat casualties at least equal to battle casualties—probably had at most no more than 35,000 combat effectives. Almond's X Corps had three times that number. Rank-and-file Marines who grumbled, "Why in the hell are we bugging out? Why don't we stay here until spring and then counterattack?" may have had it right.

### Last Days of the Evacuation

The light carrier *Bataan* (CVL 29) joined Task Force 77 on 16 December, too late to help the

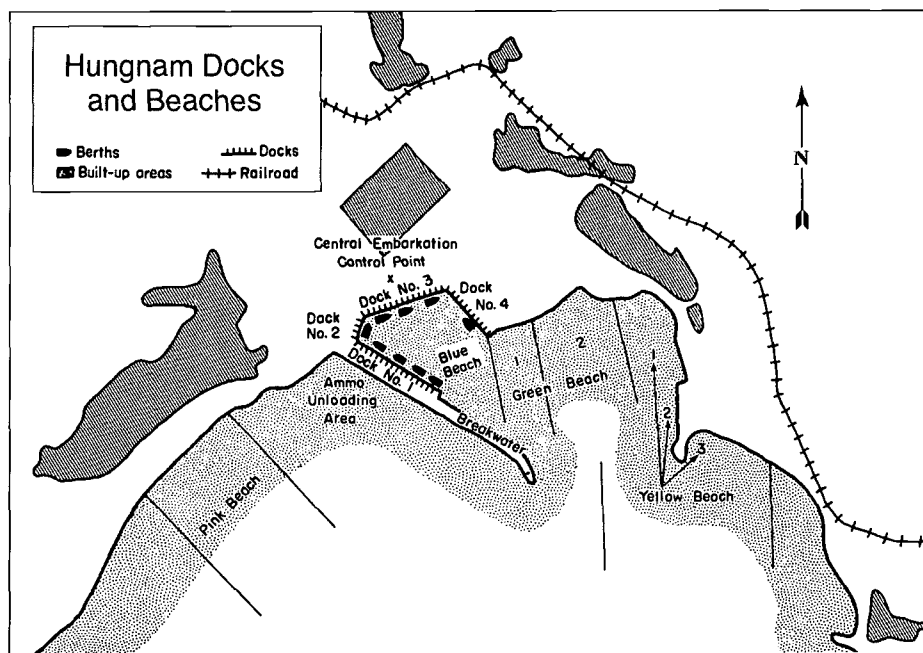






Photo by Cpl W. T. Wolfe, Department of Defense Photo (USMC) A5414

*MajGen Smith, a deeply religious man, paid a last visit to the division's Hungnam cemetery before boarding the Bayfield (APA 33) on 13 December. A memorial service with chaplains of three faiths, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish, was held.*

*Volleys were fired and taps sounded. During the course of the Chosin Reservoir campaign, 714 Marines were killed or died of wounds.*

Marines, but in time for the last stages of the Hungnam evacuation. Airlift from Yonpo continued until 17 December after which that field was closed and a temporary field, able to handle two-engine transports, opened in the harbor area. The only Marine units still ashore were an ANGLICO (Air Naval Gunfire Liaison Company) group, a reinforced shore party company, and one-and-a-half companies of the 1st Amphibian Tractor Battalion manning 88 amphibian tractors. These Marines had been left behind to assist in

the outloading of the remainder of X Corps. General Smith had resisted this detachment, and General Shepherd, before departing, had advised Smith to stress to X Corps the irreplaceable character of the tractors. Admiral Doyle, as a safeguard, had earmarked several LSDs (landing ship, docks) to lift off the tractor companies and their vehicles.

The last of the ROK Army units sailed away on the 18th. General Almond closed his command post ashore on 19 December and joined Admiral Doyle in the

*Mount McKinley.* Doyle reminded Almond that, in accordance with amphibious doctrine, all troops still ashore were now under his command as amphibious task force commander. By the 20th all of the 7th Infantry Division was embarked. On the morning of 24 December the 3d Infantry did its amphibious landing in reverse, coming off seven beaches into landing ships in smart style marred only by the premature explosion of an ammunition dump, set off by an Army captain, that killed a Marine lieutenant and a Navy sea-



Department of Defense Photo (USN) 424527

*Marines, probably members of the division headquarters, board the Bayfield by way of the gangway ladder. With MajGen Smith and his command group embarked, the Bayfield lifted her hook and sailed before noon on 15 December. A day's steaming would take the ship to Pusan.*

man and wounded 34 others. Three Marine amphibian tractors were lost in the explosion.

Totting up the statistics: 105,000 U.S. and ROK service men, 91,000 Korean refugees, 17,500 vehicles, and 350,000 measurement tons had gone out in 193 shiploads in 109 ships—some ships made two or even three trips.

The carrier *Valley Forge* came on station on 23 December, in time for the final curtain. By mid-afternoon on the 24th, all beaches

were clear and the planned pyrotechnic display of demolitions and final naval gunfire began. The whole waterfront seemed to explode as prepared explosive charges went off, sending skyward such ammunition, POL, and other stores as could not be lifted off. On board the *Mount McKinley* the embarked brass enjoyed the show and then the command ship sailed away.

More naval shells were used at Hungnam than at Inchon. Navy

records show that during the period 7 to 24 December the expenditure, headed off by 162 sixteen-inch rounds from the battleship *Missouri* (BB 63), included 2,932 eight-inch, 18,637 five-inch, and 71 three-inch shells plus 1,462 five-inch rockets. The Chinese did not choose to test seriously the Hamhung-Hungnam perimeter defenses. Not a man was lost to enemy action.

After the short run south, General Almond went ashore from the *Mount McKinley* at Ulsan at mid-afternoon with Admiral Doyle to inspect unloading areas. Late in the evening they returned in the admiral's barge to the flagship and then went ashore again for Christmas dinner, Doyle explaining to Almond that no alcoholic drinks could be served on board ship.

### Chairman Mao Is Pleased

On 17 December the Chinese occupied Hamhung. On the 27th they moved into Hungnam. Chairman Mao sent the *Ninth Army Group* a citation: "You completed a great strategic task under extremely difficult conditions."

But the costs had been high. The assaults against Yudam-ni and Hagaru-ri had almost destroyed the *20th* and *27th CCF Armies*. From Koto-ri on most of the Chinese fight was taken up by the *26th CCF Army*.

Zhang Renchu, commander of the *26th CCF Army* lamented in his report:

A shortage of transportation and escort personnel makes it impossible to accomplish the mission of supplying the troops. As a result, our soldiers frequently starve. From now on, the organization of our rear ser-



Department of Defense Photo (USA) SC355244

*Vehicles of LtCol Youngdale's 11th Marines are swung up on board a merchant ship at a Hungnam dock on 14 December. Some ships had to make two or even three round trips before the evacuation was completed. About 1,400 vehicles had been brought down to Hungnam by the division. Most would go out by LSTs (tank landing ships).*

vice units should be improved.

The troops were hungry. They ate cold food, and some had only a few potatoes in two days. They were unable to maintain the physical strength for combat; the wounded personnel could not be evacuated. . . . The fire power of our entire army was basically inadequate. When we used our guns there were no shells and sometimes the shells were duds.

Zhang Yixiang, commander of the 20th CCF Army, equally bitter, recognized that communications limitations had caused a tactical rigidity:

Our signal communication was not up to standard. For example, it took more than two days to receive instruc-

tions from higher level units. Rapid changes of the enemy's situation and the slow motion of our signal communications caused us to lose our opportunities in combat and made the instructions of the high level units ineffective.

We succeeded in the separation and encirclement of the enemy, but we failed to annihilate the enemy one by one. For example, the failure to annihilate the enemy at Yudam-ni made it impossible to annihilate the enemy at Hagaru-ri.

Zhang Yixiang reported 100 deaths from tetanus due to poor medical care. Hundreds more were sick or dead from typhus or malnutrition to say nothing of losses from frostbite. The 26th CCF Army reported 90 percent of the command suffering from frostbite.

*An Army band greets Col Litzenberg's 7th Marines on arrival at Pusan. From here the regiment moved by motor march to Masan where an advance party had the beginnings of a tent camp ready for them. After a pause for Christmas, the rebuilding of the 1st Marine Division began in earnest.*

National Archives Photo (USMC) 127-N-A5704







Photo by David Douglas Duncan

*The 1st Marine Division was only a fraction of the total evacuation from Hungnam. In all, along with 105,000 U.S. and South Korean servicemen, 91,000 civilian refugees were evacuated. In materiel, 17,500 vehicles and 350,000*

*tons of all classes of equipment and supplies were taken out in 193 shiploads in 109 ships. "We never, never contemplated a Dunkirk," Admiral C. Turner Joy later said.*

*MajGen Robert H. "Shorty" Soule, USA, supervises the loading-out of the last elements of his 3d Infantry Division at Hungnam on 24 December. By then, MajGen Almond, the X Corps commander, considered the 3d Infantry Division, which had not been involved in heavy fighting, his most combat-effective division.*

National Archives Photo (USA) 111-SC355587



Peng Deqing, commander of the 27th CCF Army, reported 10,000 non-combat casualties in his four divisions:

The troops did not have enough food. They did not have enough houses to live in. They could not stand the bitter cold, which was the reason for the excessive non-combat reduction in personnel. The weapons were not used effectively. When the fighters bivouacked in snow-covered ground during combat, their feet, socks, and hands were frozen together in one ice ball. They could not unscrew the caps on the hand grenades. The fuses would not ignite. The hands were not supple. The mortar tubes shrank on account of the cold; 70 percent of the

shells failed to detonate. Skin from the hands was stuck on the shells and the mortar tubes.

In best Communist tradition of self-criticism, Peng Deqing deplored his heavy casualties as caused by tactical errors:

We underestimated the enemy so we distributed the strength, and consequently the higher echelons were over-dispersed while the lower echelon units were over-concentrated. During one movement, the distance between the three leading divisions was very long, while the formations of the battalions, companies, and units of lower levels were too close, and the troops were unable to deploy. Further-



Department of Defense Photo (USN) 424093

*North Korean refugees wait apprehensively to board U.S. Navy LST 845. Some 91,000 civilians were evacuated from Hungnam. This does not count the thousands of others who fled Hungnam and other North Korean ports in fishing boats and other coastal vessels. Family separations occurred that in future years would never be mended.*

more, reconnaissance was not conducted strictly; we walked into the enemy fire net and suffered heavy casualties.

Zhang Renchu, commander of the 26th CCF Army found reason to admire the fire support coordination of the Marines:

The coordination between the enemy infantry, tanks, artillery, and airplanes is surprisingly close. Besides using heavy weapons for the depth, the enemy carries with him automatic light firearms which, coordinated with rockets, launchers, and recoilless guns are disposed at the front line. The characteristic of their employment is to stay quietly under cover and open fire suddenly when we come to between 70 and 100

meters from them, making it difficult for our troops to deploy and thus inflicting casualties upon us.

In a 17 December message to Peng Dehuai, Mao acknowledged that as many as 40,000 men had perished due to cold weather, lack of supplies, and the fierce fighting. "The Central Committee cherishes the memory of those lost." Peng asked for 60,000 replacements; it would be April before the *Ninth Army Group* again went into combat.

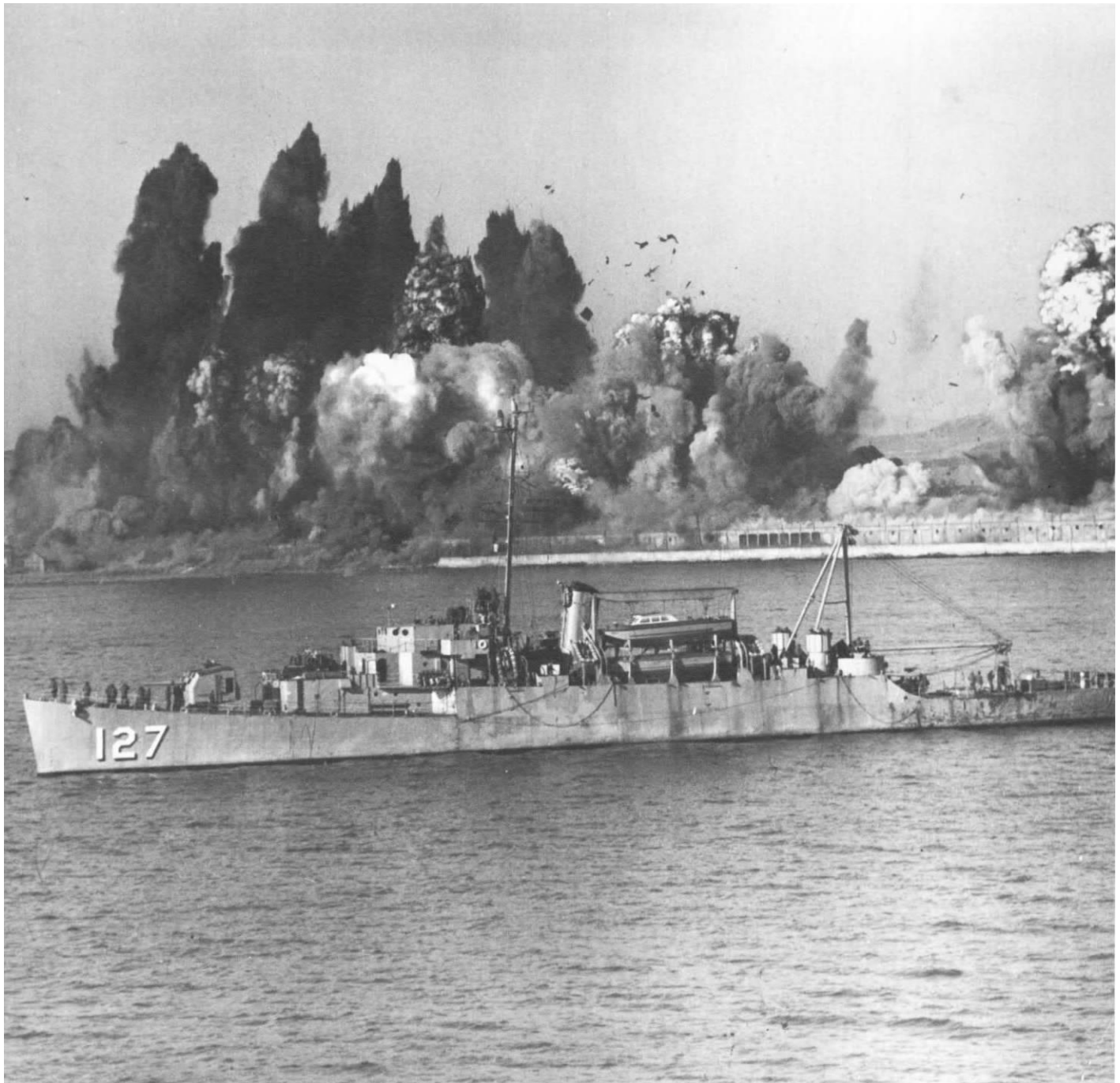
### Christmas at Masan

At Masan on Christmas Eve, Olin Beall, the mustang commander of the 1st Motor Transport Battalion, wrote a letter to his old commanding officer, General Holland M. "Howlin' Mad" Smith, now retired and living in La Jolla, California:

*An enormous stockpile of equipment and supplies, including rations, fuel, and ammunition had been built up at Hungnam. Much was evacuated, but even more would have to be destroyed. A detachment of Marines was left behind to help in the destruction. A Marine lieutenant was killed on 24 December in a premature explosion, probably the last Marine casualty of the campaign.*

Department of Defense Photo (USA) SC 355021





Department of Defense Photo (USN) 424297

*The Begor (APD 127), a high-speed amphibious transport, lends its weight to the pyrotechnic display ashore on 24 December. In a final farewell to the stricken port there was a crescendo of planned demolitions and naval gunfire. RAdm Doyle and MajGen Almond watched the spectacle from the bridge of the Mount McKinley.*

I just thought that you might like to have a few words on first hand information from an ole friend and an ole timer. . . . I've seen some brave men along that road and in these hills, men with feet frozen, men with hands frozen still helping their buddies, men riding

trucks with frozen feet but fighting from the trucks. . . . I think the fight of our 5th and 7th Regts, from Yudam-ni in to Hagaru-ri was a thing that will never be equaled. . . . Litzenberg [7th] and Murray [5th] showed real command ability and at no time did any of us doubt their judgment.

The night we came out of Koto-ri the temperature was 27 below zero and still we fought. Men froze to their socks, blood froze in wounds almost instantaneously, ones fingers were numb inside heavy mittens. Still men took them off to give to a wounded buddy. . . . We are now in





Department of Defense Photo (USA) 426954

*More naval shells were shot at Hungnam than at Inchon. Here the battleship Missouri (BB 63) bangs away with its 16-inch guns. Altogether the Navy fired more than 162 sixteen-inch, 2,932 eight-inch, and 18,637 five-inch shells plus 1,462 five-inch rockets during the period 7 to 24 December.*

Masan in South Korea reout-fitting, training and getting some new equipment. I'm very, very proud to be able to say that in all our operation my Bn [1st Motor Transport Battalion] has lost only 27 trucks and every one of these was an actual battle casualty, so I think my boys did pretty good. . . . Oliver P. Smith and Craig make a fine team and we'd stand by them thru hell and high water.

An epidemic of flu and bronchitis swept through the tent camp at Masan. The Marines were treated

with an early antibiotic, Aureomycin, in capsules to be swallowed the size of the first joint of a man's finger. The division rebuilt itself rapidly. Replacements—men and materiel—arrived. Some units found themselves with an "overage" of vehicles and weapons that had to be returned to the Army.

A refrigerator ship brought into Masan a planned double ration of Christmas turkey. Through some mix-up a second shipment of turkey and accessories arrived so that there were four days of holiday menu for the Marines. Working parties pretending to be patrols went up into the surrounding hills

to cut pine trees to line the company streets of the tent camp. C-ration cans and crinkled tinfoil from cigarette packages made do for ornaments. Choirs were formed to sing Christmas carols. Various delegations of South Koreans, civilian and military, arrived at the camp with gifts and musical shows.

On Christmas Day, General Smith was pleased to note that attendance at church services was excellent. Afterward he held open house at his Japanese-style house for officers of sufficient rank—his special staff, general staff, and more senior unit commanders. First Lieutenant James B. Soper, serving at Sasebo, Japan, had sent the commanding general's mess a case of Old Grand-Dad bourbon. Mixed with powered milk, sugar, and Korean eggs it made a passable eggnog.

*The irrepressible LtCol Olin L. Beall in a photo taken at Camp Pendleton in May 1951. Beall's exploits as commanding officer of the 1st Motor Transport Battalion, which lost nothing in his own telling, delighted MajGen Smith, himself a reserved and rather humorless individual.*

National Archives Photo (USMC) 127-N-A215229





National Archives Photo (USMC) 127-N-A5848

*On Christmas Day, MajGen Smith held open house for his senior officers and immediate staff at his Japanese-style quarters in Masan. Not all can be readily identified, but easily recognizable on the General's right are Cols Puller, McAlister, and Bowser. On Smith's immediate left, with pipe, is BGen Craig. In the middle of the kneeling row is LtCol Beall.*

Drysdale's 41 Commando also held an open house. The British embassy in Tokyo had sent over a supply of Scotch whisky and mincemeat pies. Most of the guests were officers of the 1st and 5th Marines.

On 27 December, for the benefit of his log, General Smith added up his division's losses since the Inchon landing on 15 September:

Killed in action	969
Died of wounds	163
Missing in action	199
Wounded in action	5,517

Total	6,848
Non-battle casualties	8,900
Prisoners of war taken	7,916

On the 28th of December the division was placed once again under the operational control of X Corps, still commanded by Almond who would soon be promoted to lieutenant general. X

Corps was now part of the Eighth Army, which had a new commander. General Walker had been killed when this jeep collided with a South Korean weapons carrier north of Seoul on 23 December. Lieutenant General Matthew B. Ridgway, known to the Marines as a fighting paratrooper in World War II, took his place. General Smith met him for the first time at a conference at X Corps headquarters on 30 December. Ridgway told his listeners that he wanted less looking backward toward the MSR, saying that when parachutists landed their MSR was always cut. Smith, not sure if this was praise or criticism, was nevertheless cautiously impressed by the new commanding general.

By the first of the year the 1st Marine Division would be ready to return to combat. There would be new battles to be fought—and won.

*Dressed for the occasion of MajGen Smith's Christmas party, LtCol Murray is wearing an Army winter trench coat and Col Puller a brand-new M1943 field jacket. Both wear the highly prized cuffed Army boots, but O. P. Smith, his inseparable pipe clutched in his left hand, is wearing, as always, regulation leggings with his high-top "boondockers."*

Department of Defense Photo (USMC) A5850



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## What Happened to Them?

**C**HARLES L. "GUS" BANKS, commander of the 1st Service Battalion, received a Navy Cross for his actions at Hagaru-ri. He retired in 1959 with a promotion to brigadier general in recognition of his combat decorations and died in 1988.

**BOEKER C. BATTERTON**, commanding officer of MAG-12, retired in 1958 with a promotion to brigadier general in recognition of his combat decorations. He died in 1987.

**OLIN L. BEALL**, commanding officer of the 1st Motor Transport Battalion, retired as a colonel, with both a Navy Cross and a Distinguished Service Cross for his actions at Chosin Reservoir. He died in 1977.

**ALPHA L. BOWSER, JR.**, the division's G-3 or operations officer, retired in 1967 as a lieutenant general and presently lives in Hawaii.

**JAMES H. BROWER**, commander of the 11th Marines, the artillery regiment, retired as a colonel in 1960 and died in 1984.

**J. FRANK COLE**, commanding officer of VMF-312, retired as a colonel in 1965 and died in 1969.

**HENRY P. "JIM" CROWE**, commanding officer of 1st Shore Battalion, retired in 1960 as a colonel, became chief of police in Portsmouth, Virginia, and died in 1991.

**RAYMOND G. DAVIS**, commander of the 1st Battalion, 7th Marines, went on to command the 3d Marine Division in Vietnam and was a four-star general and Assistant Commandant of the Marine Corps before retiring in 1972. He now lives near Atlanta, Georgia.

**FREDERICK R. DOWSETT**, the executive officer of the 7th Marines, retired as a colonel and died in 1986.

**VINCENT J. GOTTSCHALK**, commanding officer of VMO-6, received a Silver Star for his service in Korea. He retired as a colonel in 1968 and died in 2000.

**FIELD HARRIS**, commanding general of the 1st Marine Aircraft Wing, retired in 1953 and was advanced to lieutenant general because of his combat decorations. He died in 1967 at age 72.

**WILLIAM F. HARRIS**, commander of the 3d Battalion, 7th Marines, was listed as missing in action. No trace of him was ever found and he was eventually presumed dead. He received a posthumous Navy Cross.

**BANKSON T. HOLCOMB, JR.**, the division's G-2 or intelligence officer, retired as a brigadier general

in 1959. An expatriate, he lived for many years in Inverness, Scotland, where he died in 2000 at the age of 92.

**MILTON A. HULL**, company commander, Company D, 2d Battalion, 7th Marines, twice wounded, received both a Silver Star and Navy Cross for his actions. He retired as a colonel in 1969 and died in 1984.

**ROBERT P. KELLER**, commander of the "Blacksheep Squadron" and air liaison officer to Fifth Air Force, retired in 1974 as a lieutenant general. He lives in Pensacola, Florida.

**RANDOLPH S. D. LOCKWOOD**, commander of the 2d Battalion, 7th Marines, was not evacuated after being relieved but continued to move with the 7th Marines. On arrival at Masan he was sent to an Army hospital for psychiatric observation. The Army psychiatrist concluded he had suffered a situational neurosis, which disappeared after the evacuation. Lockwood returned briefly to the 2d Battalion, 7th Marines, but was soon transferred to administrative duties. He retired as a lieutenant colonel in 1960 and resides in Texas.

**JAMES F. LAWRENCE, JR.**, who assumed command of 2d Battalion, 7th Marines, after Lockwood's relief, received a Navy Cross for his actions at the reservoir. After distinguished service as a Marine Corps lawyer, he retired in 1972 as a brigadier general. He lives in northern Virginia.

**HOMER L. LITZENBERG, JR.**, commanding officer of the 7th Marines, rapidly ascended in grade to major general and as such in 1957 served as the senior member of the United Nations component negotiating the peace talks at Panmunjom. He retired in 1959, was elevated to lieutenant general because of his combat decorations, and died in 1963 at age 68.

**FRANCIS M. MCALISTER**, the division's G-4 or logistics officer, succeeded Puller as the commander, 1st Marines, a position he held until wounded in May 1951. He retired as a major general in 1960 and died in 1965.

**JOHN N. McLAUGHLIN**, survived his captivity and went on to become a lieutenant general and chief of staff at Headquarters Marine Corps. He retired in 1977 and lives in Savannah, Georgia.

**RAYMOND L. MURRAY**, commander of the 5th Marines, rose to the grade of major general before retiring in 1968. He lives in Southern California.



REGINALD R. MYERS, Executive Officer, 3d Battalion, 1st Marines, received a Medal of Honor for his actions on East Hill. He retired as a colonel in 1967 and now lives in Florida.

GEORGE R. NEWTON, commander of the 1st Battalion, 5th Marines, received a Silver Star for his service in Korea and retired as a colonel in 1964. He died in 1993.

FRANCIS F. "FOX" PARRY, commander of 3d Battalion, 11th Marines, retired as a colonel in 1967. He published his memoir, *Three War Marine*, in 1987. He lives in Flourtown, Pennsylvania.

JOHN H. PARTRIDGE, the division engineer, retired as a colonel in 1965 and died in 1987.

LEWIS B. "CHESTY" PULLER, the 1st Marines' commanding officer, was promoted to brigadier general and became the division's assistant commander in February 1951. He received his fifth Navy Cross for his performance at the Chosin Reservoir and rose to the grade of major general on active service and to lieutenant general on the retired list when he retired in 1955. He died in 1971 at the age of 73.

J. ROBERT REINBURG, commander of VMF(N)-513, retired as a colonel in 1978 and died in 1997.

THOMAS L. RIDGE, Commanding Officer, 3d Battalion, 1st Marines, received a Silver Star for his defense of Hagaru. He retired as a colonel in 1964 and died in 1999.

MAURICE E. ROACH, Litzenberg's jack-of-all-trades, retired as a colonel in 1962 and died in 1988.

DEANE C. ROBERTS, commander of VMR-152, retired as a colonel in 1957 and died in 1985.

HAROLD S. ROISE, commander of 2d Battalion, 5th Marines, received two Navy Crosses for his heroic actions. He retired as a colonel in 1965 and died in 1991.

WEBB D. "BUZZ" SAWYER, Litzenberg's roving battalion commander, received two Silver Stars for his actions at Chosin Reservoir and a Navy Cross for later heroics during the Chinese spring counteroffensive in April 1951. He retired as a brigadier general in 1968 and died in 1995.

HENRY W. "POP" SEELEY, JR., retired as a colonel in 1963 with his last years of active duty as a highly regarded logistics officer. He lives in Florida.

DONALD M. "BUCK" SCHMUCK, Commanding Officer, 1st Battalion, 1st Marines, was later advanced to executive officer of the regiment. He

retired in 1959 and because of his combat decorations was advanced in grade to brigadier general. He lives in Wyoming and Hawaii.

CARL L. SITTER, company commander, Company G, 3d Battalion, 1st Marines, recipient of a Medal of Honor, retired as colonel in 1970. He was a long-time resident of Richmond, Virginia, until his death in 2000.

OLIVER P. SMITH, Commanding General, 1st Marine Division, was promoted to lieutenant general in 1953 and given command of Fleet Marine Force, Atlantic. He retired in 1955 and for his many combat awards was raised in grade to four-star general. He died on Christmas Day, 1977, at his home in Los Altos Hills, California, at age 81.

EDWARD W. SNEDEKER, the division's deputy chief of staff, retired as a lieutenant general in 1963. In retirement he was known as a world-class stamp collector. He died in 1995.

EDWARD P. STAMFORD, the Marine tactical air controller with Task Force Faith, retired as a major in 1961 and lives in Southern California.

ALLAN SUTTER, commander of the 2d Battalion, 1st Marines, retired as a colonel in 1964 and died in Orange, Virginia, in 1988.

MAX J. VOLCANSEK, JR., commander of VMF(N)-542, retired in 1956 and was advanced in grade to brigadier general because of his combat decorations. He died in 1995.

HARVEY S. WALSETH, the division's G-1 or personnel officer, after recovering from his wounds, returned to the division to serve as deputy chief of staff and commanding officer, rear echelon. He retired in 1960 as a colonel and resides in Santa Barbara, California.

ERWIN F. WANN, JR., commander of the 1st Amphibian Tractor Battalion, retired as a colonel in 1965 and died in 1997.

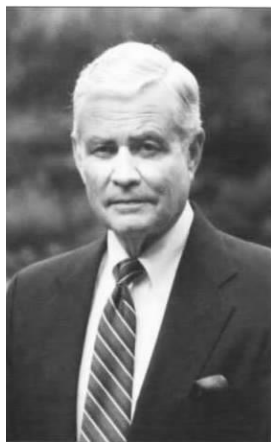
GREGON A. WILLIAMS, the division's chief of staff, retired as a major general in 1954 and died in 1968.

DAVID C. WOLFE, successor to Reinburg as Commanding Officer, VMF(N)-513, served as the head of the U.S. military mission in the Dominican Republic before retiring as a colonel in 1965. He died in 1992.

CARL A. YOUNGDALE, who relieved Brower as Commanding Officer, 11th Marines, went on to command the 1st Marine Division in Vietnam and retired as a major general in 1972. He died in 1993.

## About the Author

Edwin Howard Simmons, a retired Marine brigadier general, was, as a major, the commanding officer of Weapons Company, 3d Battalion, 1st Marines, throughout the Chosin Reservoir campaign. His active Marine Corps service spanned 30 years—1942 to 1972—during which, as he likes to boast, successively in World War II, Korea, and Vietnam he had command or acting command in combat of every size unit from platoon to division. A writer and historian all his adult life, he was the Director of Marine Corps History and Museums from 1972 until 1996 and is now the Director Emeritus.



Born in 1921 in Billingsport, New Jersey, the site of a Revolutionary War battle, he received his commission in the Marine Corps in 1942 through the Army ROTC at Lehigh University. He also holds a master's degree from Ohio State University and is a graduate of the National War College. A one-time managing editor of the *Marine Corps Gazette* (1945-1949), he has been widely published, including more than 300 articles and essays. His most recent books are *The United States Marine: A History* (1998), *The Marines* (1998), and a Korean War novel, *Dog Company Six*. He is the author of an earlier pamphlet in this series, *Over the Seawall: U.S. Marines at Inchon*.

He is married, has four grown children, and lives with his wife, Frances, at their residence, "Dunmarchin," two miles up the Potomac from Mount Vernon.



**THIS PAMPHLET HISTORY**, one in a series devoted to U.S. Marines in the Korean War era, is published for the education and training of Marines by the History and Museums Division, Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, Washington, D.C., as part of the U.S. Department of Defense observance of the 50th anniversary of that war. Editorial costs have been defrayed in part by contributions from members of the Marine Corps Heritage Foundation. To plan and coordinate the Korean War commemorative events and activities of the Sea Services, the Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard have formed the Sea Services Korean War Commemoration Committee, chaired by the Director, Navy Staff. For more information about the Sea Services' commemorative effort, please contact the Navy-Marine Corps Korean War Commemoration Coordinator at (202) 433-4223/3085, FAX 433-7265 (DSN288-7265), E-Mail: HonorAndRemember@hqmc.usmc.mil, Website: [www.history.usmc.mil](http://www.history.usmc.mil).

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1254 Charles Morris Street SE

Washington Navy Yard DC 20374-5040

2002

PCN 19000410000

## Sources

The official history, *The Chosin Reservoir Campaign* by Lynn Montross and Capt Nicholas A. Canzona, volume three in the five-volume series *U.S. Marine Operations in Korea, 1950-1953*, provided a starting place for this account. However, in the near half-century since this volume was published in 1957, there has been a great deal of new scholarship as well as release of classified records, particularly with respect to Chinese forces. This pamphlet attempts to benefit from these later sources.

With respect to Chinese forces, *The Dragon Strikes* by Maj Patrick C. Roe has been especially useful as have various articles by both Chinese and Western scholars that have appeared in academic journals. *The Changjin Journal*, the electronic newsletter edited by Col George A. Rasula, USA (Ret), has provided thought-provoking detail on the role of U.S. Army forces, particularly RCT-31, at the reservoir. The as-yet uncompleted work on the Hungnam evacuation by Professor Donald Chisholm has yielded new insights on that critical culminating event.

Books, some new, some old, that have been most useful include—listed alphabetically and not necessarily by worth, which

varies widely—Roy E. Appleman, *East of Chosin and South to the Nakdong*, North to the Yalu; Clay Blair, *The Forgotten War*; Malcolm W. Cagle and Frank A. Manson, *The Sea War in Korea*; T. R. Fehrenbach, *This Kind of War*; Andrew Geer, *The New Breed*; D. M. Giangreco, *War in Korea, 1950-1953*; Richard P. Hallion, *The Naval Air War in Korea*; Max Hastings, *The Korean War*; Robert Leckie, *The March to Glory*; Douglas MacArthur, *Reminiscences*; Francis Fox Parry, *Three War Marine*; Russell Spurr, *Enter the Dragon*; Shelby L. Stanton, *America's Tenth Legion*; John Toland, *In Mortal Combat: Korea 1950-1953*; Rudy Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums*; and Harry Truman, *Memoirs*.

The official reports that proved most helpful were the Far East Command's *Command Report, December 1950*; the 1st Marine Division's *Historical Diary for November 1950*; the Commander, Task Force 90's *Hungnam Redeployment, 9-25 December 1950*; and the Headquarters, X Corps, *Special Report on Chosin Reservoir, 17 November to 10 December 1950*.

Oral histories, diaries, memoirs (published and unpublished), and personal correspondence were extremely useful, especially those papers originating with Generals Almond, Bowser, Craig, Litzenberg, Murray, Shepherd, and Smith.

Resort was made to scores of biographical and subject files held by the Reference Section of the Marine Corps Historical Center.

The author also unabashedly put to use his own recollections of events and recycled materials that he had first developed on Chosin Reservoir in various essays, articles, and lectures during the past half-century.

As is invariably the case, the author had the unstinting and enthusiastic support and cooperation of the staff at the Marine Corps Historical Center.

The text has benefited greatly from the critical reviews by the editorial ladder within the Marine Corps Historical Center—Mr. Charles R. "Rich" Smith, Mr. Charles D. Melson, LtCol Jon Hoffman—and externally by Col Joseph Alexander, Col Thomas G. Ferguson, USA (Ret), BGen James F. Lawrence, Col Allan R. Millett, Mr. J. Robert Moskin, Col George A. Rasula, USA (Ret), and Maj Patrick C. Roe. The author, of course, remains responsible for any defects remaining in the book.

A fully annotated draft manuscript is on deposit at the Marine Corps Historical Center. Virtually all of the reference materials published and unpublished, used can be found at the Marine Corps Historical Center in Washington, D.C., or at the Marine Corps Research Center at Quantico, Virginia.

